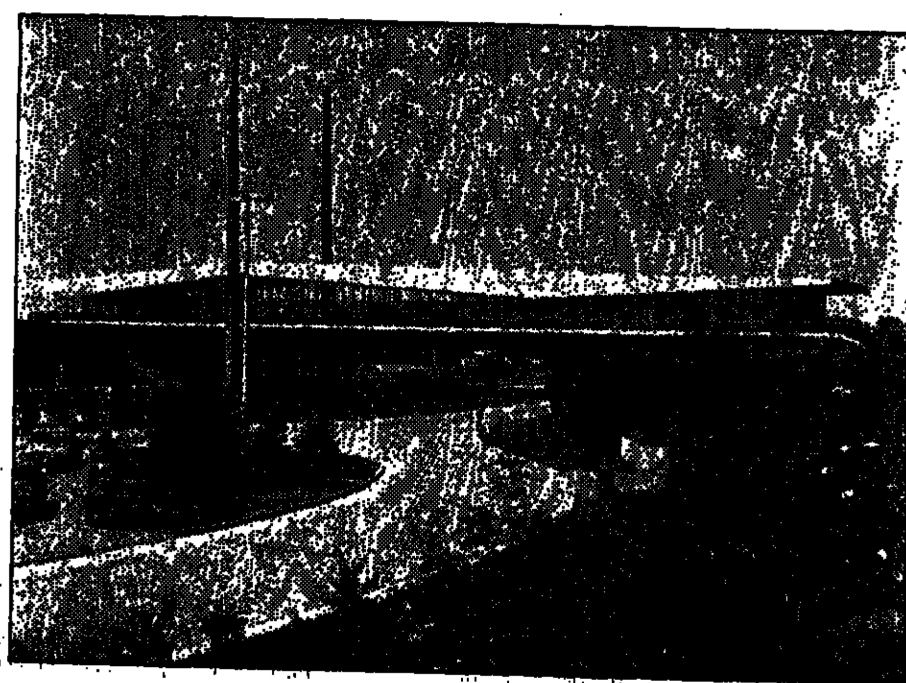


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Propaganda fades as Brezhnev dons coat for Bonn visit

...r Brezhnev's visit to Bonn this month will be his first visit to the ...since the Soviet invasion of Afg...n.

...mes as a welcome opportunity ...e Soviet leaders to demonstrate, ...an overcast background of East-...ies, an example of normal inter-...ment relations.

...helps the Kremlin, which has an ...both the Soviet public and its ...ours in Eastern Europe.

...hnev has not chosen Bonn from ...of possibilities. The visit is the ...tion available.

...itterrand has no desire to meet ...s long as Red Army soldiers are in ... There is no reason why he ...visit Mrs Thatcher. And the time ...ripe for a meeting with President ...

...leaves only the Federal Republic ...many, with which the Soviet ...has more treaty and other ties ...than any other Western country.

...is also Moscow's main trading ...in the West. German industry is ...ed with past large-scale industrial ...s and keen to collaborate on ...mes.

...an banks are a generous source ... The German government, keen to ... energy supplies, has no objections ...nology transfer.

...Brezhnev will doubtless be keen to ...t further developments in this ...tion, given that a gas pipeline ... Siberia to Central Europe is an

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...ment in the future that will earn ... exchange.

...ong as Soviet industrial goods are ... to hold their own in world ...s and massive grain imports re-... consume Russia's modest foreign ...ge reserves, energy exports will be ...ly real money-spinner Russia has ... as an earner of hard currency.

...Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn might ...be termed an exercise in self-pre-...tion.

This also extends to Mr Brezhnev's *Westpolitik*, detente and peaceful coexistence. The last is based on Lenin's principle of collaborating whenever necessary and coming in for grabs wherever possible.

Soviet opinion has been carefully prepared for the visit. The Soviet media have refrained from training their full propaganda fire on Chancellor Schmidt, contenting themselves with a few critical remarks about Foreign Minister Genscher.

This is essential because the Soviet leader cannot be expected to visit a country where he is less than welcome. So Bonn and its leaders have temporarily been cast in a favourable light.

Bonn is made out to be the home of a powerful anti-American peace movement, while its leaders (or at least some of them) are credited with having withstood pressure to rearm and of seeking to persuade Washington to confer with Moscow.

Soviet propaganda has refrained from capitalising openly on conflicting views within the coalition parties in Bonn.

It makes a point of quoting only views that conform with the official Soviet line, of making no mention of other viewpoints and of reminding the Socialist International of ideals held in common.

This public relations campaign was accompanied by a succession of German visitors to Moscow.

They ranged from SPD leader Willy Brandt, Economic Affairs Minister Otto Lambsdorff and trade union leader Heinz Oskar Vetter to Opposition spokesman Walther Leisler Kiep. All were given red carpet treatment (although Herr Leisler Kiep was arguably given a somewhat less enthusiastic reception) and Mr Brezhnev held a succession of private talks with them. Foreign diplomats were continually amazed. "Whenever I switch on Soviet TV there is either an ice hockey game or a German visitor to the Kremlin," a British diplomat said.

It was a slight exaggeration but, subject to this proviso, not far short of the truth. There is little prospect of anything much coming of Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn. It promises to be a matter of a frank exchange of views of appearances and thus of an opportunity for self portrayal. The Soviet leader's main topics are arms control and security policy. Unlike President Reagan he has the advantage of being able to talk first and foremost in terms of peace.

Mr Reagan, of course, has been unable to sidestep awkward debates about variations on the unthinkable: nuclear warfare.

Mr Brezhnev will be talking about peace, even at the risk of facing criticism of Afghanistan and anxious inquiries about Poland.

It might arguably be a convenient opportunity to call on the Soviet leader to do a little more in the bilateral humanitarian sector.

If the handful of ethnic Germans granted exit permits were any indicator of official relations, ties could hardly be said to be in a good way.

Mr Brezhnev will be visiting Bonn only days before the beginning of talks on medium-range missiles with the United States in Geneva.

He may be expected less to come up with fresh proposals on the subject than to make a contribution towards clearing the air. The first meetings between Mr Haig and Mr Gromyko in New York (they are due to meet again in January) cannot be said to have heralded a thaw in US-Soviet ties.

Pravda continues to slang the United States and observers in Moscow are unable to make out more than rifts in the ice.

If they could be widened by means of Soviet readiness to make concessions at the Geneva talks, Bonn's bid to improve relations between the superpowers would prove to have been worthwhile.

Mr Brezhnev is likely to be told in Bonn that this hosts are neither willing nor able to do more than constantly advocate talks while remaining determined to share the burden of matching the Soviet arms build-up.

That is about as far as the possibilities of a separate detente policy in Europe go.

Leo Wieland

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 November 1981)



Prince Fahd comes for a chat

Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd steps out with Chancellor Schmidt during a brief visit to Bonn on his way home from the Cancun summit in Mexico. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Rumanians use mailed fist to keep ethnic Germans in line

Massive pressure was applied to prevent ethnic Germans living in Rumania from spontaneously meeting Bonn President Karl Carstens during his state visit there.

At times they were physically prevented from meeting Herr Carstens.

Rumanian claims that security and organisational reasons accounted for the behaviour cannot be taken seriously.

Events were sometimes embarrassing and cast a shadow over the whole visit.

There is little point in speculating whether Herr Carstens would have gone at all if he had known in advance what difficulties were to arise on his tour of the provinces.

The fact is, as was noted in idy terms in the President's final talks with Mr Ceausescu, the Rumanian leader, that massive pressure had been brought to bear on the German minority to avoid meetings with the visitor from Bonn.

Yet President Carstens' visit and the problems of the German minority in Rumania cannot be seen solely in relation to the incidents that occurred.

If ethnic Germans in Rumania are to be helped, either to rejoin their families or to improve their position, there must be a continual dialogue and cooperation.

Viewed in this light the invitation extended to Mr Ceausescu to visit the Federal Republic was more than a mere matter of protocol.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 October 1981)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

America would gain no advantage from a Europe laid to nuclear waste

Mistrust has reached alarming proportions. Hardly does President Reagan have something to say than there is an outcry that Washington plans to sell us down the river and wage a limited nuclear war in Europe.

Only gradually are we coming to realise that what seemed incredible as stated by the US President (and Mr Reagan's choice of words was unfortunate, to say the least) has for years been Nato strategy. Gradually too we are coming to realise that President Reagan's alleged intentions cannot possibly be in America's interest.

What can the United States possibly stand to gain from a Europe laid waste by tactical nuclear weapons that could offset the loss of half a million US service personnel stationed here?

What could possibly offset the loss of America's major partners and the destruction of the majority of Western democracies?

What, above all, could possibly warrant running the risk of a limited nuclear engagement not stopping short at the borders of the superpowers but devastating the entire world?

The whole idea is insane, but not insane enough for Europeans not to imagine, in all seriousness, that President Reagan might well have it in mind.

Opinion is as sensitive about virtually everything that is heard from the United States at present as though a nerve were laid bare.

Yet oddly enough, pollsters have been unable to locate this seemingly hysterical mistrust of Bonn's major ally. There are no signs, they say, of a resurgence of anti-American sentiment in Germany.

Beneath the wild excitement, pollsters claim, there is a bedrock of confidence and good will.

Even people who are accused of being against America will hear nothing of it; they say they are merely opposed to the policies of the Reagan administration.

But US pollsters say Mr Reagan's foreign policy is currently welcomed by three Americans out of four, indicating a fundamental clash of interests between Europe and America.

The United States has drawn altogether different conclusions from the policy of detente it inaugurated from those reached in Europe, especially in Germany.

For the United States the detente era was one in which America, placing its trust in detente, lost ground in world affairs.

Conscription was abolished. The US army was streamlined. Defence spending was cut in real terms. Extra medium-range missiles were not stationed anywhere.

Over the same period the Soviet Union increased the strength of its defence establishment by a third and its defence spending by 50 per cent.

Russia stationed an entire arsenal of medium-range missiles in Europe.

There is a widespread feeling in America that detente benefited Moscow rather than Washington, and it is a feeling one can well understand.

Viewed from Germany the situation is entirely different. For Germany detente has brought practical gains. The position of West Berlin has been stabilised and contact with people in the GDR has grown easier.

The psychological aspect of detente is even more important. For America detente was an opportunity of emerging from its disastrous military commitment in Vietnam.

For the Germans it gave rise to hopes of possibly taking their leave of world affairs despite a geographical location on the borderline between the blocs and conflicting interests of power politics.

So it is hardly surprising that the detente era sired a new patriotism in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The allergic response to the Reagan administration's policy could well be anger at hopes of becoming an oasis of peace seeming destined to be dashed.

Not long ago two Germans in three said they did not feel there would [...] war. Now one German in two ha[s an] uneasy feeling there will be one.

This fear is heightened by a g[...] anxiety for the future. What is the[n] surprising about this sentiment being directed against the Soviet U[nion] whose decisions Bonn can hardly [hope] to influence in any case?

Russia may have dashed hopes of [mi]litary detente but America and [...] take decisions that are implement[ed in] this country.

Anxiety about the direction these [de]cisions may be taking has been har[ness]ed by the small but vociferous sectio[n of] German opinion that does, as it [hap]pens, feel anti-American.

Its anti-American sentiment goes b[ack] to Vietnam and Watergate.

Politicians on both sides of the A[tlan]tic have good reason to be worrie[d by] the trend, which indicates that US o[pin]ion and much of European opinion [are] heading in opposite directions.

The trend in America is toward[s de]termination to assert the role of [the] United States as a world power. [The] trend in Europe is marked to [an] extent by the desire to drop ou[t of] world affairs.

This is dynamite both for Nato [and] four European security. Sad to say, [...] people in Europe fail to realise that [the] prospects of peace will not improv[e if] the imbalance in Europe and the di[ffer]ences of viewpoint with America [in]crease.

Both South-East Asia and the Mi[ddle] East bear out the truth of the ma[xim] which is that imbalance has n[ever] boosted the prospects of peace.

Thomas Löffelh[olz]

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 24 October [1981])

Rau discusses trade, arms in Moscow

North Rhine-Westphalian Premier Johannes Rau's visit to Moscow was more than mere political tourism of the kind to which *Land* government are increasingly given.

Herr Rau took with him a personal message from the sickbed of fellow-Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt.

The topics dealt with, the Kremlin leaders Herr Rau talked with and the results of their talks all indicate that the Düsseldorf Premier was welcomed as more than a state leader.

He was given a lengthy hearing by Mr Brezhnev himself, who seemed even readier than in the past to discuss matters with his German guest.

It remains to be seen what actually emerges from the trade talks Herr Rau said had been so extraordinarily successful.

Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn later this month will show how far the Soviet Union is prepared to promote common economic interests regardless of tension between the blocs.

But trade was not the only topic on which the North Rhine-Westphalian Premier claimed to have gleaned encouraging information in the Kremlin, so his visit may indeed have amounted to more than window-dressing in preparation for Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn.

Herr Rau was told that the Soviet Union was prepared to consider cuts in its nuclear potential provided its deterrent effect was retained.

This was not the first time the Kremlin had indicated willingness to negotiate on this point. The next round of arms control talks will show what exactly Moscow has in mind.

But Herr Rau's comments would seem to show that the Russians are prepared to show willing in both Geneva and Bonn.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 October 1981)

East-West issues vie with Third World in Paris priorities

Closer links with the Third World appears to be at least as important as East-West issues to the French government.

The French President, M. Mitterrand, feels that revolutionary movements deserve support in countries that flout human rights.

Although Washington feels this is going too far, the French are undismayed.

By contrast, Europe appears to be taking a back seat in Paris' scheme of things.

This naturally affects its relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany.

President Mitterrand's predecessor, M. Giscard d'Estaing, saw France and the Federal Republic of Germany as the heartlands of the European Community.

In public he was no keener than Bonn is on the idea of a Bonn-Paris axis, but in practice he behaved as though one existed.

Those were the days, although it is too early to say that ties with Bonn, as seen from Paris, have deteriorated substantially.

But the new French government realises that since it assumed power in Paris there have been a number of differences between Paris and Bonn that cannot fail to have repercussions on mutual ties.

Premier Mauroy's government terms France a socialist state. French economic policy is poles apart from Bonn's.

President Mitterrand and his men feel, for instance, a closer emotional affinity with the new socialist government of Greece than with their neighbours east of the Rhine.

This ideological chasm does not, of course, rule out certain points in common on East-West ties.

M. Mitterrand is much more strongly in favour of Nato's combined missile modernisation and disarmament talks resolution than M. Giscard d'Estaing was.

This strengthens Helmut Schmidt's hand in a tricky situation and is more in keeeping with the current of opinion in Washington.

Paris (apart from the French Communists, that is) appreciates US missile modernisation.

The French Socialists see it as a means of bolstering America's position at the forthcoming medium-range missiles talks with the Soviet Union.

The French government's attitude towards Bonn has so relieved the Americans that they have taken to referring to France as an exemplary ally.

The French are less than enthusiastic about the idea of being exemplary allies, which in any case they are not.

M. Mitterrand feels Nato needs reform. What he wants is a reappraisal of the North Atlantic pact and a reformulation of defence tenets.

M. Mitterrand, in keeping with traditional French foreign policy, would like to take an independent line, especially in dealings with the United States.

The way Paris sees it, this purpose is served by Bonn backing the US viewpoint more strongly than it has been doing lately.

The wave of pacifism currently [in] evidence in the Federal Republic [has] prompted misgivings no less strong [in] France than in the United States.

For France the Federal Republic i[s an] important strategic glacis. Were Ge[rma]ny's determination to defend itself [to] decline, France would be forced to [re]view its entire policy.

Since France and America hold co[m]mon views on major aspects of E[ast-]West relations, the United States is fe[el]ing much less aggrieved about Fra[nce] voting for a left-wing government.

But serious differences of opi[nion] have arisen on ties with the Th[ird] World and with the underdevelop[ed] countries Moscow is wooing.

M. Mitterrand's address to Lat[in] America at the Cancun North-So[uth] summit can hardly have failed to b[e] been interpreted in Washington as a c[all] to arms in the cause of revolution.

Hans Rademach[er]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 October 1[981])

The German Tribune

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[H]OME AFFAIRS

[C]oalition holds on, but [f]or how long?

[The]re is a mood in Bonn that the [en]d of the coalition is just round [the co]rner. It exists despite the fact that [the co]alition parties have agreed on the budget.

[The] feeling is that this budget battle [is th]e last of the coalition battles, pos[sibly b]ecause the compromise does have [...]ings.

[The] questions now are not only [whethe]r Operation 82 has succeeded and [whethe]r the patient has been saved. It is [...w]hether the surgeons will survive.

[In an]alysing the state of the coalition, [fact] must be separated from illusion.

[For] example, it is illusion is that the [...] government is paralysed, full of [...], and headed by a man whose [...] for several reasons, is open to [...]tion.

[It is] also an illusion that the SPD is [...]ed and disunited except for a col[lective] lemming-like death wish.

[Ano]ther is that the FDP is in the grip [of a v]ortex and seems only looking for [a ch]ance to change partners.

[But] the reality looks almost as bleak, [...] illusions.

[The] government can act within the [...a]vailable to it. The SPD wants to [stay] at the helm, and even the left [...] see it this way.

[An]d the FDP is now, unlike in the [...], no longer looking for a new [...]. The reason for this lies with the [...]. Under more normal circum[stances] the impotent SPD-FDP go[vernme]nt would long have been re[placed] by the conservatives.

[...]t is not only the equally desolate [...]ion of the CDU/CSU that stopped [the F]DP from changing sides. The more [...tu]g-of-war over the budget was prolonged, the more the coalition partners realised that, though they had little in common, there was even less common ground with the CDU/CSU, whose only aim is to take the reins of government.

The conservatives also lost much of their attractiveness in matters of social affairs.

Why should Count Lambsdorff, of all people, now be edging closer to the SPD?

Despite all weakness and the balancing acts of the past few weeks, the coalition is now more united than before, because it sees no alternative.

Yet there is a palpable listlessness. The SPD knows that it must stick with the workers despite all austerity measures, and there is nothing left that it could yield in matters of social policy.

The FDP must present a determined image to the middle class voters — including those who habitually vote for the CDU — if it is to weather the four state elections next year.

The net result is a policy of the narrowest possible scope. In fact, nobody talks of common ground anymore.

How long can this continue? Prospects are not bad in matters of foreign and security policy. The big question mark for the coalition is the economic development.

Every additional jobless makes it more difficult for the Social Democrats and the Liberals to find common ground and threatens the coalition with paralysis for lack of decision-making strength.

But it would be wrong to underestimate the advantages of this coalition. Though it had a hard time in the summer and autumn and though it stood at the edge of an abyss, it managed to continue governing without making grave political mistakes.

In addition, this coalition has a Chancellor who appears to be in excellent shape only two weeks after his illness.

Unless the situation deteriorates dramatically, this in itself could provide a sound enough basis for the election year 1984.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 October 1981)

FDP infighting is kept behind closed doors

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

The National Executive Committee of the Free Democrats had sound reason for holding its congress in Mainz in secret.

The party does not want its infighting to attract the interest of observers from the two big parties. This is also why the Liberals have been restrained in Bonn after the "summer theatre".

It is not only Helmut Schmidt's heart pacemaker that has put the brakes on the Liberals.

A sober analysis of the current political situation has made the FDP leaders abandon the idea of switching partners. FDP Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher knows that his party would find it difficult to cope with additional turbulence.

The Liberals are no less divided than the Social Democrats on the issues of armament and peace policy.

There is a growing scepticism among Bundestag left wingers about US policy — and this is becoming more pronounced with every successive statement by President Reagan.

And on economic and social policy, Genscher's statement about a "change" has only added to the uncertainty among his left wingers.

Although Genscher still has more backing in his party than Schmidt does in the SPD, there is bound to be plenty of criticism put forward by the delegates to the Mainz congress. And the leadership is reluctant to fuel this discontent still further.

Anybody talking to FDP politicians in Bonn these days is unlikely to hear much about the possibility of a switch in coalition partners. Instead, he is likely to be told about the apprehension of a possible grand coalition between conservatives and Social Democrats.

Before the SPD permits itself to drop below the 30 per cent mark in popularity polls Herbert Wehner will go out of his way to secure his party's position in Bonn, the argument goes.

And since the FDP's reputation among Social Democrats is that of rats on a sinking ship, such a move by Wehner appears quite plausible.

Among the problems Genscher has with his party are some for which he is not responsible. Berlin's FDP has been in total disarray since the CDU election victory — so much so that the Bonn party leadership has given up hope of a successful intervention.

Nobody expects the Berlin Liberals to polish up their cracked public image sufficiently in the next few years to enable them to take the five per cent hurdle in the next election.

In the City-state of Hamburg, where the FDP failed to take the hurdle in the last election, the Liberals have now put up a top candidate, Klaus Brunnstein, who contrasts with such exemplary liberals as the SPD's Klaus von Dohnanyi and the CDU's Walther Leisler Kiep only by virtue of his colourlessness.

Lower Saxony, on which Genscher once pinned his hopes in trying to depart from a rigid coalition system, also has difficulties.

There is no guarantee that the FDP will return to the State legislature — especially since Lower Saxony's Liberals are reluctant to say before the election which party they would form a coalition with.

Lower Saxony and Hamburg — both will be going to the polls in the spring — are a test case for the Hesse Liberals. Should the upward trend of the Greens (environmentalists) in that state continue, there is every likelihood that they would go into to the State parliament.

And should this happen, there could be a repeat of the Berlin debacle where SPD and FDP failed to gain the necessary majority.

This possibility is likely to play a role when it comes to deciding on one coalition partner or another.

In the last Hesse election, Wolfgang Mischnick had a hard time gaining the upper hand in his decision to opt for the SPD.

The shift in the FDP leadership in Rhineland-Palatinate ended the crisis there, but the internal tug-of-war goes on.

Some months ago, Genscher intimated that in two years there would no longer be any obstacle to an FDP-CDU coalition there.

The FDP has its problems in Bavaria as well. The controversy surrounding the party's state chairman, Josef Ertl, has subsided.

At the last state party congress he lost 110 votes to a totally unknown housewife. But the resignation from the party of seven Nuremberg FDP officials could have repercussions.

Left wingers in Bonn, though fully understanding what motivated the seven to hand in their party cards, hope that the trend will not continue and so leave them without backing in the *Länder.*

Gerd Rauhaus

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 23 October 1981)

All-party meeting rejects united line on budget

[No] help is likely from the Opposi[tio]n in getting the coalition's budg[et pro]posals through both houses of par[liamen]t.

[The] issue was brought up, and reject[ed, du]ring a meeting between the Op[positio]n leader, Helmut Kohl, the Chan[cellor,] Helmut Schmidt, and the FDP [chairm]an, Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

[Herr] Schmidt originally intended to [talk p]rivately with Herr Kohl

[But] because Herr Kohl had harshly [deman]ded the Chancellor's resignation, [Herr] Genscher was called in to demon[strate] coalition solidarity.

[Koh]l, in his turn, decided to come [with C]SU Bundestag Floor Leader Fried[rich] Zimmermann. As a result, the [meetin]g was stripped of all political pi[quanc]y.

[...] reported on his visit to America [and G]enscher briefed the round on the [Canc]un Summit.

[The] most important issue, the Bonn [budge]t, was not mentioned until the [e]nd of the talks, and then only in [...], when the proposal for an all-[party l]egislative push was rejected.

[Com]pared with the heated coalition [...]s over the austerity budget in the [summ]er, the cabinet's final decision on [how t]o cope with the huge deficit was [made] without much public fuss.

[...], Education Minister Björn Eng[holm] launched a massive attack against [int]ended cutbacks in allowances for [seconda]ry school students.

[But] the FDP — unlike in the summer — now stands firm as a coalition partner. After all, the budget cart is bogged down so deeply that those responsible don't want to aggravate the situation by getting into each other's hair. So SPD and FDP have stubbornly closed their ears to the opposition call to hand over the reins.

The true extent of Bonn's additional borrowing is being papered over. Through no merit of its won, the Bonn government is benefiting from the dollar exchange rate — both from its rise and its decline.

The rise of the dollar coupled with high interest rates in the USA was instrumental in the Bundesbank's mammoth profits, and its decline reduced our oil bill.

The Bundesbank profits are now to go to Bonn and so help bolster the budget.

But all these speculative elements lend a quality of wheeler-dealing to our budget rehabilitators.

The Liberals pride themselves on having prevented tax increases and additional borrowing. The self-employed got away unscathed as did the civil servants, who were spared higher unemployment contributions. Both are regarded as FDP voters.

Yet the higher unemployment insurance contributions for the rest of the labour force are tantamount to a tax increase.

Here, too, the government operates with camouflage methods: the SPD left wing demands higher taxes for top earners; but these are only the usual rearguard skirmishes.

In his talk with opposition leaders Kohl and Zimmermann, the Chancellor tried to prompt them to help the budget package take the parliamentary hurdle before Christmas.

But Schmidt's and Genscher's impatience has made the opposition mistrust the latest government estimates on unemployment figures and tax revenues.

The opposition responded to the government's compromise programme by demanding that Schmidt put his cards on the table or resign.

But matters cannot end there. The budget is a national issue and the Opposition bears its share of responsibility.

In any event, the Chancellor cannot expect a Christmas present from the opposition in the firm of its approval of the budget unless considerable changes are made.

(General Anzeiger, 28 October 1981)

■ MIGRANTS

Government looks at new proposals on citizenship, residence

The Bonn government is considering proposals drawn up with the aim of clarifying the position of foreigners in Germany.

Among the suggestions is one that children who have been in the country for eight years or more obtain the right to opt for German citizenship at the age of 18.

This option would be valid for three years only.

The proposals are contained in a paper prepared by the Interior Ministry.

Other sections of the paper deal with residential rights under different circumstances, marriage to German nationals, for example.

The document has been drafted because the government is becoming increasingly worried that ethnic Germans will become openly hostile if more foreigners settle in Germany than can be economically integrated.

"In purely numerical terms, the problems of integration could become too big to be coped with," says the paper.

"This applies particularly to metropolitan areas, where many foreigners live in ghetto-like conditions."

The Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, has made it clear that those who decided not to become Germans should go back home.

He said, probably reflecting popular opinion, that the number of foreigners



in the country had reached or passed the tolerance threshold.

According to the report now before the Cabinet, the number of foreigners in Germany increased by 472,000, or 11.9 per cent, to 4,453,000 between September 1978 and September last year.

And the rise is expected to go on unless economic conditions cause a change of heart.

The number of Turks over the two years rose by 25 per cent to 1.462 million, about a third of the total.

Close to half (46.8 per cent) of foreigners under 18 were Turks.

Half the foreigners (2.016 million) were employed, 100,000 were unemployed.

The Federal Republic of Germany has more foreigners than any other European country, but fewer pro rata than several others.

According to estimates by the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), there could be more than seven million in the country by the year 2000.

The institute and the Bonn government arrived at these figures as a result of the following premises: though family planning among aliens will increasingly resemble that of Germans, in Turkey alone there are some 700,000 relatives waiting to come to Germany.

In addition, the annual influx of asylum seekers and other refugees is estimated at 20,000 a year.

An annual 30,000 Greeks, Spaniards and Portuguese are expected to seek work in Germany between 1988 and 1992 because the freedom-of-labour-movement guaranteed by the EEC will have come into force by then.

These people will be crowding a labour market that will have nothing in common with the days when Germany needed workers.

The Bonn government is now trying to stem unemployment, and Germans are once more prepared to do the work for which we once hired aliens.

For this reason and due to the lower standard of education of foreigners, the percentage of foreign jobless exceeds that of Germans.

German unemployment is 5.5 per cent compared with 7.8 per cent for foreigners.

The Turks are hardest hit primarily due to the greater cultural and religious differences between them and Germans.

Unemployment among Turkish workers was 10.1 per cent in September 1980. Yet they seem to be better off being jobless in Germany than having a job in their home country — despite the alien surroundings.

Politicians, churches and associations are trying to avoid xenophobia sentiments. They have been pressing for integration.

Fears over possible lack of jobs

But views as to how this is to be achieved vary widely.

The Federal Republic of Germany stresses that it is no immigration country; neither does it want to expel the foreigners it once needed.

But government fears what will happen if the number of foreigners keeps growing.

The integration of those who are new on the labour market, in other words, the economic integration that is essential for social integration, could no longer be guaranteed.

Written in typical Bonn officialese, a government paper sounds the alarm: "Such a development could reach the threshold where the discomfort of considerable sections of the German population could turn into open resistance. The consequences would be social and political tension that would threaten the social peace in the Federal Republic of Germany."

The Bonn government does not want to take the possibility of such a development as an inescapable destiny. It wants to continue to work on all levels (associations, municipalities, churches, companies and legislation) towards facilitating naturalisation and promoting integration. This does not mean that the foreigners are to be "Germanised".

An historic comparison: we now not only find Polish names in the Ruhr region but also Polish clubs and associations. But this type of integration presupposes "a policy of limitation without which the integration of foreigners ... fail."

The recruiting of foreign workers ... become more restricted in the future.

The freeze on the employment of ... eigners from non-EEC countries, in... duced in 1973, has improved conditi... for legal integration.

Present conditions "preclude any ... emption from the freeze."

And "the greatest restraint must ... exercised in the granting of freedom ... labour movement within the Commu... ty.

Long transition periods are a must ... new members. Above all, the Cab... decision of 2 July 1980 must be obs... ed.

The decision provides that nego... tions about the further development ... Turkey's associate EEC member st... must permanently exclude the free ... unrestricted access of Turkish worke... the labour markets of the mem... states.

The Federal government wants to ... up additional barriers for the recrui... of foreign workers and the influx of ... lum seekers because it would otherw... be unable to stop next-of-kin fr... crowding into the country.

Article 6 of the Constitution appl... to foreigners as well: "Marriage and ... mily enjoy the special protection of ... state. The care for and the upbringing ... children are the natural right of ... parents and their foremost duty. T... state will supervise them."

This legal position has made it po... ible for 50,000 spouses and some 70,0... children under 18 to be reunited w... the rest of the family in this country.

Abuse of these provisions by me... of forged birth dates and names can ... stopped by the state. The same is true ... illegal residence and work, and the ne... cessary legal provisions were enacted ... 2 September.

The intended integration throu... kindergartens, schools and clubs and ... possibility for 18-year-olds who ha... lived in this country for at least 8 ye... to become German citizens with ... rights and obligations is to be both su... plemented and restricted by a "reinteg... tion policy".

This is also the gist of the Chanc... lor's last statement on this issue whi... can be summed up as follows: integ... tion for those who can be integrated a... repatriation support for the others. B... tial agreements with Turkey and Gre... for the promotion of repatriation (f... instance, by supporting the formation ... workers' companies) are to be develop... further.

Yugoslavia still opposes this policy, ... the matter must still be negotiated w... the Belgrade government.

Since aid for Turkey has been froz... for one year, it is hard to see how ... repatriation of Turks can be promot... under our "current aid for Turkey" p... gramme.

The future will show whether our p... liticians and society will succeed in re... onciling conflicting aims.

Seeking balance between integration, identity

On the one hand, the Bonn gove... ment wants to integrate the fore... workers living here; and, on the other ... does not want to strip them of th... identity as Turks, Greeks or Yugosl... in order not to make it impossible ... them to return home. *Helmut Her...*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeit... für Deutschland, 28 October 198...)

...OPLE IN COMMERCE

Finance director resigns from troubled VW

...drich Thomée, 61, has resigned ... the board of Volkswagen, ... he was responsible for the com... finances. He had been with VW ... years.

... distinguished career with the ...burg motor manufacturer ended ... seven-line statement issued by ... supervisory board.

... executive committee of the su... ...ry board, it read, had complied ... Thomée's request to terminate his ... early.

Thomée is said to have been ... for Volkswagen's difficulties ... its subsidiary Triumph-Adler, the ... office machinery manufactu...

...as the longest-serving member of ... VW board, having been a director ... the managing directorship of all ... Volkswagen board chairmen: Nord... Lotz, Leiding and Schmücker.

...everal spectacular changes at the ... had hoped to be appointed man... director himself, but in view of ... company's luckless Triumph-Adler ...tment, for which he has certainly ... blamed in some quarters, any ... he may still have had were ruled ...

...ially Volkswagen are unlikely to ... any comment on why his contract ... terminated, and Triumph-Adler is ...dly only part of the story.

... had never been less than frank in ...gist Toni Schmücker was the last ... director under whom he was ... to serve, and the search for a suc... (Herr Schmücker is seriously ill)

... bad heart attack that brought Schmücker's career to an end vir... ended Friedrich Thomée's career ... VW too, since the Triumph-Adler ...rant he was now unlikely to en... majority support on the supervisory ...

...oughout his long and successful ... with Volkswagen, a demanding ... the best of time, he maintained ...ks with the academic world where ...eer began.

... was an honorary professor at Gies... University and has in various ways ...ed the lines of contact between ... and practice.

... studied at Kiel, then worked as a ... lecturer and assistant to Karl ..., the Hamburg professor who ... served as Economic Affairs and ... Minister in Bonn.

... the economics department of ... North Rhine-Westphalian Landes... Bank he moved to Phoenix AG, ... firm, as deputy to the financial ...

... an interlude with the Chase ... Bank in New York he served ... director with special responsibilities ... board of Dresdner Bank, one of ... country's three major clearing banks.

... moving to Volkswagen in 1965 ... with Thyssen, first as financial ... at August Thyssen Hütte AG, ... the board of Thyssen subsidiary ...-Union AG.

... who knows him personally ... imagine for a moment that Dr ... will now rest on his laurels, al... on his pension he no longer ... work for a living.

... will probably pay more attention to his academic interests, which were necessarily neglected during his management career.

At Volkswagen the supervisory board is now concentrating on its quest for a successor to Toni Schmücker as chairman of the management board.

A decision is likely to be taken at the 13 November meeting of the supervisory board. There has certainly been no lack of speculation as to who might be in the running.

Speculation was rife even before it became clear that Herr Schmücker would not be fit enough to return to the helm in Wolfsburg.

His heart attack was a grim reminder of the inexorable toll ill-health takes of senior management and of the demands a management career makes on executives.

Volkswagen have yet to make even a preliminary decision on who might be in line to take over as managing director, and Metallgesellschaft's Gustav Ratjens, supervisory board chairman, is not to be envied in the choice he must preside over.

Basically there are two possibilities, an insider or an outsider. But German management practice is to favour an insider, someone with experience in the motor industry.

In the United States, in contrast, experience in the industry is felt to be far less essential. Corporate problems are rated similar from one industry to the next; specific difficulties can be handled by other members of the board.

But if being conversant with the motor industry is to be a must, then there are only two likely candidates for the board chairmanship at Volkswagen.

They are Edzard Reuter, financial director at Daimler-Benz, and Carl H. Hahn, the board chairman of Conti Gummi, the Hanover tyre manufacturers.

Both are motor men, since Hahn worked in the trade before moving to Conti. He built up Volkswagen's US business and later served as sales director in Wolfsburg.

Herr Hahn left Volkswagen after a clash with Rudolf Leiding, whose view prevailed as VW board chairman at the time.

Herr Reuter, the son of post-war Berlin mayor Ernst Reuter, was offered the post of managing director at Volkswagen when Herr Leiding resigned.

But he still had hopes of taking over from Professor Zahn at Daimler-Benz in Stuttgart, so he declined the offer. It remains to be seen whether he would do so now, but the signs are that he would accept.

He is still upset at not having been appointed successor to Professor Zahn, especially as planning, previously his responsibility, has been taken over by Herr Prinz, the new Daimler-Benz board chairman.

Herr Reuter can be sure of trade union backing, whereas the unions have made it clear that Herr Hahn is not acceptable. They are also opposed to hopes that may still be harboured by Werner P. Schmidt, head of the Volkswagen sales and service network.

Herr Hahn enjoys the support of Walther Leisler Kiep, deputy leader of the Christian Democrats in Bonn and Opposition leader in Hamburg.

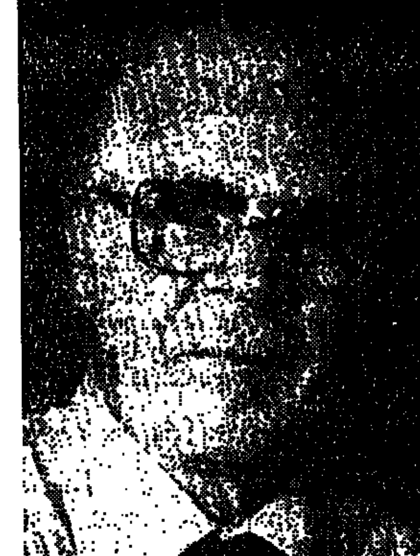
Herr Leisler Kiep is still a supervisory board member at Volkswagen, a directorship he did not relinquish after leaving the CDU Cabinet in Hanover.

It is no secret that the Lower Saxon government in Hanover (Wolfsburg is in Lower Saxony) favours Herr Hahn, who sympathises with the Christian Democrats, whereas Herr Reuter's father was a Social Democratic mayor of Berlin.

Herr Reuter is a welcome visitor to Bonn when Chancellor Schmidt wants a management opinion.

Given the stakes held in the company by the various sides, the managing director at Volkswagen is more or less dependent on the goodwill of both Bonn, Hanover and the trade unions.

So several eventful weeks are likely to elapse before a final decision is taken.



Friedrich Thomée . . . kept academic links. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Herr Schmücker is not at his desk for much of the time, so the brunt of management responsibility is currently borne by Horst Münzer, the senior member of the board of directors.

He too has hopes of taking over at the helm. As director in charge of procurement he would be reluctant to serve under Herr Hahn, whose present company supply Volkswagen with car tyres.

Whoever makes the running, what matters is continuity at the top. In the past all Volkswagen managing directors have retired early.

Heinrich Nordhoff died. Lotz and Leiding left under a cloud. Toni Schmücker is ill.

Continuity is a distinct possibility now both the managing directorship and the finance directorship are vacant. The two new men can only prove a success if they work in joint harness and get on with each other.

So, as coincidence would have it, what Hans Birnbaum, supervisory board chairman when Herr Schmücker was appointed managing director, always wanted might yet happen.

He hoped a new team would be appointed when Herr Schmücker and Herr Thomée, who are roughly the same age, were due for retirement.

Hansjürgen Wehrmann

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 October 1981)

The man they call Banker of the Century

Hermann Josef Abs, honorary board chairman of Deutsche Bank and the grand old man of German banking, is 80.

Natural modesty was a quality he was said to have as an apprentice, yet he is not embarrassed in the least when David Rockefeller calls him the world's leading banker.

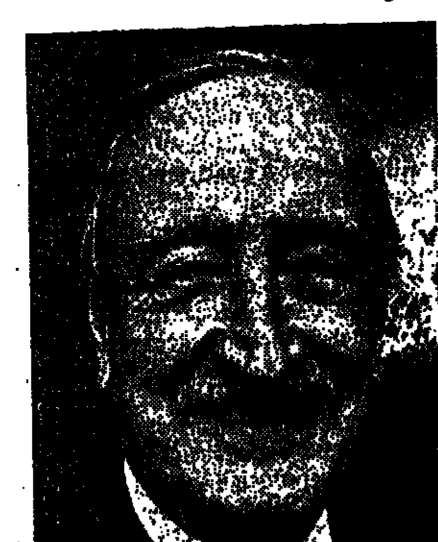
Vanity, he says, is not part of his make-up. But he is keen on being called a banker even though, as he puts it, he was only a banker in the true sense of the term as a young man.

Since the age of 36 he has no longer worked with money of his own but merely as a salaried employee Is there a contradiction here somewhere?

Herr Abs is unquestionably the most important German banker of this century. At 50 in 1952, he played a crucially important part in the London negotiations on Germany's foreign debts.

Even during the Second World War he had maintained his foreign links, and at London he laid the foundation stone for the sovereignty and economic upswing of the Federal Republic.

He avoided a repetition of the disastrous war debt terms imposed at Versailles after the First World War, and much of the credit was due to the cosmopolitan charm, the brilliant intelligence and the profound know-how of



Hermann Abs . . . an optimist (Photo: Sven Simon)

Herr Abs as head of the German delegation.

He and Konrad Adenauer shared not only mutual respect but also a mutual distrust of Ludwig Erhard as Chancellor (although not as Finance Minister).

Yet despite countless rumours to the contrary, he seems never to have been seriously interested in going into politics, not even under Chancellor Adenauer.

Hermann Josef Abs was determined to remain at the top in his chosen career, or as he puts it: "I have always relied on the alphabetical order."

He made Deutsche Bank the leading bank in Europe. It is fair to give him the credit even though he was always merely the No. I, not the boss.

He was not a demonstrative managing director, preferring to exercise power discreetly. More important still, he was a fine judge of men and has always gathered around him the best men available.

His successors as spokesmen for the board at Deutsche Bank have been Franz Heinrich Ulrich, Karl Klasen, Wilfried Guth and F. Wilhelm Christians.

Yet Deutsche Bank is still very much his bank, although he insists that he now only plays any part in the running

Continued on page 7

■ THE ECONOMY

Unemployment rate of 7 per cent predicted

The average annual rate of unemployment next year will be more than 1.6 million, or seven per cent of the working population, say the five leading German economic institutes in their autumn report.

In September this year, there were 1.256 million out of work.

Naturally, assumptions are open to dispute. For instance it remains to be seen whether the optimistic forecast for most industrial countries will materialise and whether the Opec countries will desist from new price increases.

The same applies to the question whether our energy supplies will remain reliable or whether they will be affected by new conflicts in the Middle East.

The anticipation of further reductions in the interest rates and the resulting hope of an upswing in the course of next year also seems optimistic.

Yet the 7 per cent unemployment rate forecast by the institutes is the most favourable of a number of possible rates.

One dissenting institute whose past pessimistic forecasts have come closer to reality considers an even higher number of jobless likely.

For the Bonn government, the latest report means that the already amended basic figures for the 1982 budget will have to be reviewed once more.

The Federal deficit, which has been growing from day to day, is likely to be even larger than now assumed because the institutes predict lower tax revenues and greater expenditures for unemployment benefits.

The calculations underlying the 1982 budget might be correct; but a balanced budget will not cure our sagging economy. It can hardly be the aim of Bonn politicians to make up for the growing drain due to the rising number of unemployed by imposing ever new burdens on those who have a job and an income.

It is hard to come to terms with an economic affairs minister and a government who take the resigned attitude that it is naturally distressing that the economy is limping along and unemployment rising but that there is nothing that can be done about it.

Even the government's annual economic report for 1981, which was released in January, deplored the increase in unemployment as an inevitable fact of life. In another three months, when the next annual report falls due, we will probably be told that things are going from bad to worse but that this cannot be helped.

The Bundestag MPs (and not only those of the SPD) have been prompted by the government's lack of success in fighting unemployment to call for action. They fear that growing unemployment will endanger our social fabric — and they must be taken seriously.

It is an intolerable thought that at certain periods next year we will be faced with two million people who are out of work.

The Federal government responds by pointing to the fact that the situation is even worse elsewhere. But this is not much of a consolation.

This sort of attempt at justifying the situation in this country cannot gloss over the fact that Germany has not succeeded in adapting its economic, financial and social structures to the changed circumstances.

The social security system, the demands on the state and the recipes with which to overcome crises functioned well in an economy marked by constant growth.

But this economic and social order was unprepared for a situation in which there was no more growth and no additional money to be distributed and in which all further demands had to be met at the expense of others.

Even the economic research institutes are at a loss for an answer. They point to the old recipes that generated growth in the past.

But our resistance to the recipes of yesterday has increased. And we have no convincing alternative as to how to carry on without growth. *Frank J. Eichhorn*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 October 1981)

HOW COSTS ARE RISING

Percentage increases compared with previous year in Fed. Rep. Germany

Cost of imports: +6.2% (1976), 1.5 (77), −3.7% (78), 11.7 (79), 14.8 (80), 12.2, 14.0, 19.2* (1981: 1.Vj., 2., 3.Vj.)

* July/August

Industry's costs: +3.7 (1976), 2.7 (77), 1.1 (78), 4.8 (79), 7.6 (80), 6.8, 7.0 (1981: 1.Vj., 2.)

What consumer pays: +4.3 (1976), 3.7 (77), 2.7 (78), 4.1 (79), 5.5 (80), 5.7, 5.[illegible] (1981: 1.Vj., 2.)

G 4046

Exports, home demand looking good

Rising exports and domestic demand will give the economy a shot in the arm next year. But they will not halt the increase in unemployment, according to the five major economic research institutes.

Most of them anticipate a real growth rate of one per cent and an inflation rate of about 4.5 per cent. The balance of payments will improve and become almost balanced. But the number of jobless is likely to top the 1.6 million mark.

The Berlin, Essen, Hamburg, Munich and Kiel institutes disagree on whether the economy has already reached its nadir or not. But most do not expect a drop in production. The spring is supposed to bring a revitalisation, says Arthur Krumper, the spokesman for the Munich-based Ifo Institute.

The Kiel Institute for the World Economy expects the recession in the Western industrial countries to continue. The institute holds that the negative effects of American economic policy have not yet had their full impact.

Its spokesman, Norbert Walter, therefore does not attach too much importance to the impulses generated by foreign demand. This, his institute pre[dicts,] will lead to a one per cent declin[e in] GNP in 1982 and an unemploy[ment] figure of 1.75 million.

Economic policy, the institutes [say,] must create the framework condi[tions] for an economic growth that will [continue] on its own momentum while at [the] same time keeping inflation in check.

This can only be done in the med[ium] term, and short term economic meas[ures] could in fact aggravate the position [on] the labour market. This precludes [go]vernment programmes to boost the eco[]nomy, says Krumper.

The institutes recommend that [the] money supply be guided by the pro[duc]tion potential and that it be raised [by] 5.5 to 6 per cent. The trend tow[ards] lower interest rates should be acce[ler]ated.

Wage deals must be markedly lo[wer] than this year. In fact, even the sc[ope] provided by rising productivity sho[uld] not be fully used in concluding th[e] deals. The Kiel institute recommen[ds] that the existing wage deals be extend[ed] for an additional year.

The spokesman for the German Insti[]tute for Economic Research (DIW) [in] Berlin differs. According to him, [] wage policy has shown a high degree [of] adaptability in the past few years and [its] role in improving our economic fram[e]work conditions should therefore be [] emphasised by not demanding e[ven] more wage restraint.

DIW and the other institutes agree [on] the need for a further consolidation [of] the budget. The short-term effects [of] spending cutbacks must, however, [not] be disregarded.

By introducing such measures, [] state programmes a deterioration of [the] economy.

Budgetary policy must concen[trate] simultaneously on supply and dema[nd] effects, says DIW.

But the majority of the institutes [be]lieve that the government's role must [no] longer concentrate on anti-cycli[cal] demand steering.

Krumper said the government de[ci]sion on next year's budget was un[con]vincing. Right, unwarranted and w[] moves stand side by side in the budg[et].

On the financing of the Federal [La]bour Office, shifting revenues of [the] pension fund only postpones de[aling] with the problem. *Wolfgang Koe[]*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 October 19[81])

Next year's Bonn budget now has an additional DM10bn available.

That is the expected profit of the Bundesbank this year.

The money would ease problems between the coalition partners who need a compromise between demands for further cutbacks (made by the FDP) and for more borrowing (made by the SPD).

Making a profit is not the Bundesbank's function. But it has managed to do so because of policies of stability over the past 18 months.

Bonn benefitted to the tune of DM2.3bn from the central bank's 1980 profit.

The DM10bn would not be used to reduce the amount of Federal borrowing, DM26.5bn, but to plug other holes in the budget.

What it means is that Bonn would not have to cut back on the excessive welfare and social security system.

Bundesbank profits go the Federal government because it owns the bank. But there is resistance to passing on the money. The central bank is not permitted to withhold any of the money and the Finance Minister is in no position to reject it, even if he wanted to.

Budget boost from the Bundesbank

It is also important to note that the central bank's profits have nothing to do with any fancy juggling but have been genuinely earned.

The most important source of these profits are the foreign exchange reserves, especially close to US$40bn which is invested at American super interest rates.

And then there are domestic interest earnings resulting from loans on securities to German banks.

To add to this bonanza the central bankers also profit when intervening on international foreign exchange markets on behalf of the deutschemark.

Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer (SPD) and Economic Affairs Minister Count Otto Lambsdorff (FDP) can argue that the high interest rates only reflect the poor state of the economy and the resulting shortfall in tax revenues and that the transfer of profits is therefore justified — the more so since this means that Bonn will not have to resort to money markets for this money. The problem is that this is outweighed by the impression of a "profligate state".

The fact that financial circles, the business community and, covertly, also the Bundesbank now show signs of resistance to passing on the profits has nothing to do with doubts as to the genuineness of the DM10bn.

Even the bloating of the domestic money supply and with it the danger of further inflation that the DM10bn would engender pose no major problems. The central bank has suitable instruments with which to reduce the money supply to a volume it considers sound.

But what really bothers conservative bussinessmen is the manner in which Bonn intends to use these profits.

They will not be used to reduce the DM26.5bn Federal borrowing but to plug additional holes in the budget.

The money only spares Bonn the necessity of cutting back on our excessive welfare and social security system.

Fritz Kral

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 October 1981)

[B]USINESS

Construction industry leads the way as insolvencies hit record level

[The n]umber of companies going to [the] wall is hitting record levels. From [] to the end of August, there were [] which is 25 per cent more than [the s]ame period last year.

[Hardes]t hit is the construction industry [with] insolvencies for every 10,000 [compan]ies, double the overall rate.

[The] worst post-war year for insolvencies was 1977, with 9,444. This [is l]ikely to be well beaten this year. [One s]ource estimates that the total in [] will be 11,380, up 26 per cent on [] and almost 3,000 more than in []

[Accor]ding to the president of the [constru]ction industry federation, Fritz [], the current economic crisis [] about 1,400 firms with it, along [] 10,000 jobs.

[Caught up] in the tide are well-known [compan]ies thought to be on financially [sound] footings with products which en[joy go]od reputations.

[Exam]ples include: Rollei, Holstein-[]as & Sohn and the Kaiserslau[tern] Textile Works. So even the old [belief] that the state looks after the big [compan]ies no longer applies.

[The] Schimmelpfeng credit rating [agency] depicts a pessimistic picture, [saying] that the Federal Republic of [Germany] must prepare itself for a record [1]1,380 insolvencies — up 26 per [cent on] last year.

[This w]ould mark a record in German [post-wa]r history, exceeding the 1977 [record o]f 9,444 by close to 3,000.

[The] prediction of the Schimmelpfeng [compet]itor, Creditreform, is equally []. The Neuss-based agency antici[pates 1]0,500 insolvencies, 8,000 of them [co]llapses.

[The] two agencies' analyses coincide.

[For] the first time since 1898 when [the li]mited company law came into effect, insolvencies of this type of com[pany w]ill account for 60 per cent, says [Credit]reform, compared with 50 per [cent la]st year.

[This] means that of the nation's [] limited companies, 4,600 will go [out of] business by the end of the year.

[Newl]y founded companies are particu[larly sh]aky. Records show that the rise [in ins]olvencies is largely accounted for [by] new companies. About four out [of ten] firms that went broke last year [were l]ess than eight years old.

[Man]y small and medium-sized com[panies] go to the wall — new companies [are ine]vitably small.

[Cred]itreform says one in three bank[ruptcie]s last year involved a firm with a [payro]ll of five or fewer. Companies with [a payro]ll of up to 100 accounted for 87 [per cen]t.

[But] this development should not gloss [over] the fact that larger companies are [th]reatened and that the threat does [not d]iminish markedly until a company [has a] payroll of about 500, says Creditre[form].

[Apar]t from the crisis-racked con[struc]tion industry, wholesalers, retailers [and] parts of the service industry such as [hotels] and restaurants are particularly at [risk].

[Cred]it rating agencies, business asso[ciatio]ns and even the trade unions large[ly agr]ee on the causes.

[One] of the main culprits is the sagging economy and the Bundesbank's tight money policy.

Frankfurter Rundschau

On the one hand, sagging sales have a negative effect on the inflow of money and, on the other, interest rates — and hence operating costs — are rising.

Branches of business such as the textile and construction industries are hampered still further.

Due to empty public coffers, Bonn, the *Länder* and the municipalities have had to cut back on new construction.

In the textile industry, the consumer's thriftiness and rising imports are major factors.

In addition many construction companies are undercapitalised relative to the volume of their sales.

According to the Institute for the German Economy, the proportion of the business community's own funds relative to overall liquidity will drop to less than 23 per cent this year.

In times of low interest rates, borrowing could be a profitable business. But this type of financing only pays if the profits to be achieved with the borrowed money are greater than the interest to be paid on it, says Schimmelpfeng manager Wolfgang Spannagel. The reason is obvious. Overall returns on capital must rise in such a case.

But once an ailing company is caught in the vortex of high interest rates its chances are slim.

"As soon as a company starts showing signs of shakiness, banks become more critical, demanding additional collateral, or they refuse to reschedule loans and, in some instances, even demand early repayment," says a spokesman of the Standing Conference of German Industry (DIHT).

But business associations take the easy way out when blaming undercapitalisation on the government's economic policies which frequently hamper the entrepreneur.

The Cologne-based Institute for Research into Medium-Sized Businesses concludes in a study that wrong terms for financial obligations, disregard for financing principles and excessive risks in borrowing coupled with inadequate financial planning rank among the most common reasons for breakdowns.

Hans-Jürgen Mortsiefer, the author of the study, concludes: "Crassly formulated, it can be said that most of the firms that go broke are themselves responsible for their failure."

Creditors, small sub-contractors and buyers of companies that have gone bust are lucky if they recover a very small proportion of what is due to them.

Spannagel estimates losses due to insolvencies this year at about DM6bn.

But the cost to the economy as a whole is considerably greater.

Spannagel assumes that every bankruptcy costs an average of 20 jobs and that only half of the people who had to be laid off find other work.

Creditreform is even more pessimistic. According to its own survey, every insolvency costs 36 jobs. In other words, if 8,000 companies collapse, some 288,000 people are likely to lose their jobs.

And since 58 per cent of those who have become redundant draw unemployment benefits and every jobless costs an average of DM20,000, Creditreform estimates that the Federal Labour Office will have to pay close to DM3.3bn this year for those who have lost their jobs because their employers went out of business.

This is more than 20 per cent of the total budget for unemployment benefits. In addition, there is the Fire Brigade Fund for non-payment of wages and salaries due to bankruptcy for which 53,600 applications had been filed by the end of August. The total cost is estimated at DM270m.

Even though market economy purists like Spannagel regard insolvencies as a purge in which weak companies fall by the wayside, making room for healthy ones and so ultimately creating new jobs, it is generally agreed that the current quota is too high.

While Spannagel calls on the government to do away with some of the red tape and so improve operating conditions for the business community, the trade unions have called on the Bundesbank and the government to introduce booster measures for the economy, saying: "Since our economic locomotive has run out of steam, you cannot put on the brakes while trying to crest the hill."

Detailed proposals have meanwhile been presented by the Metalworkers Union which also demands that our bankruptcy laws be changed in an effort to stem the tide. *Mario Müller*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 October 1981)

Banker of the Century

Continued from page 5

of the company at the request of the men who are now in charge.

An outline of his career, no matter how successful it may have been, is not the whole story. Nor is it enough to say that he is an extremely urbane man, fond of music and renowned for his witticisms.

It is arguably more important to bear in mind that Herr Abs, despite having been feared and respected by many people he has negotiated with by virtue of his enormous and ever-present detailed knowledge, has always thought in the long term and been a farsighted, political man.

He got on well with trade union officials such as IG Metall's Otto Brenner, whereas the Christian Democrats made the mistake of passing legislation to prevent any one man from holding more than 10 directorships.

No names were mentioned but everyone knew who was meant, so much so that this piece of legislation has gone down in history as *Lex Abs*, or Abs's Law.

It may be said to have been the first and only genuine *Berufsverbot*, or career ban, in the Federal Republic.

He was strongly opposed to deutschemark revaluation and is still not keen on floating exchange rates. "Since the transition to floating," he says, "inflation has increased, not decreased."

He is convinced he will be proved right in the long run and merely says it will be a while before there is a return to the Bretton Woods systems.

All in all he is an optimist, if that is the right term for such an outstanding personality. Not for a moment does he doubt that the future belongs to the free market economy, although entrepreneurs will need to fight to defend it.

He says he chose banking as a career to set right what needed putting in order. He would have preferred to study music. In retrospect he has done so in many respects.

He once compared his work as a banker with that of an organist at an organ with five manuals and 72 living stops.

Diether Stolze

(Die Zeit, 16 October 1981)

Depressed half year for investment

Dwindling profits, poor sales prospects and greater risks reduced investment in the first half of this year.

This has stopped the shift in the use of available income from consumption to investment spending, says the Bundesbank in its latest monthly report.

German business spent DM95.3bn for capital goods and stocks in the first half of the year. Gross investments (without the DM47bn accounted for by the housing industry) thus lagged DM7bn or 6.5 per cent behind last year's level.

The following figures demonstrate the loss of buoyancy in investment activities: The business community's capital investments in the first half of 1980 were up 12 per cent and in the second half 7 per cent against the same period in the previous year.

The rise in the first half of 1981 was only 3.5 per cent, totalling DM90bn. This figure is not adjusted for inflation. If it were, it would be below last year's figure.

Even so, the Bundesbank refuses to speak of an investment setback because the deterioration of profits in 1980 followed a phase of relatively high gains. In addition, improved export sales provided new investment impulses.

The Bundesbank terms this year's low (which is one of the main reasons for the lacklustre investment activity) as at least as pronounced as the decline after the first oil crisis.

Business earnings declined by 15 per cent in the first half of this year, while the GNP dropped 2 per cent and gross incomes from employment rose by 5.5 per cent.

The central bankers attribute the deterioration of business earnings to higher import prices and production cost due to increased wages.

Since, unlike in previous slumps, higher wages now do not go hand-in-hand with increased productivity, per unit wage costs are up 6.5 per cent.

Overall production costs are up 7.5 per cent against the first half of last year.

The rate of financing from liquid capital, which dropped from 90.5 to 81.5 per cent between the first half of 1979 and 1980, diminished further to 80.5 per cent.

Sagging investments call for a noticeable improvement of financing from liquid funds, the Bundesbank says.

G. Dertinger

(Die Welt, 20 October 1981)

■ TRANSPORT

Accident services have a macabre side

Emergency services in Germany are among the world's best, a conference in Kassel has been told, but competition between them can lead to situations in which coordination would be preferable.

Walter Teuber, the Bonn Transport Ministry official responsible for the emergency service, felt the police, fire brigade and ambulance service were doing fine work and presented facts and figures to substantiate his case.

The number of people killed and injured on the roads had marked time since the 60s even though the number of vehicles on the road had trebled.

The emergency services were, he said, a responsibility of the *Länder*, but the Bonn Transport Ministry had made a respectable contribution towards reform in a coordinating capacity.

Since the early 60s an entire range of proposals for improvements to the emergency services had been uniformly introduced throughout the country.

What once had been mere demands were now regarded as a matter of course. They included provisions such as:

- the emergency notification system,
- the emergency identity card,
- emergency callboxes at regular intervals along autobahns and major roads,
- the introduction of 110 and 112 as nationwide police and fire brigade calls,
- suitable training and equipment of doctors for first aid duties
- and the first aid kid motorists are required to have in their vehicle at all times.

The manpower and equipment of the emergency services were generally satisfactory. Twenty-eight helicopters were on standby to rush victims to hospital. So were 1,700 ambulances, of which 400 had crews including a round-the-clock roster of emergency doctors.

Then came 3,000 ambulances manned by aid organisations such as the Red Cross, the St John's Ambulance Brigade, the Workers' Samaritans and the like: five in all.

But for years the system had a serious drawback: the macabre competition between organisations. The more victims they helped, the more money they could charge to health insurance schemes.

That was why one organisation had been known to wait until one of its own ambulances was available rather than notify the others.

The only way to deal with this anomaly was to coordinate emergency services. This had now been done in all *Länder*.

The system used in Hesse is said to be particularly effective. Hesse is subdivided into six radio regions in each of which emergency calls are relayed to a control desk that allocates ambulance runs to the five first aid organisations in accordance with their manpower and equipment in the given area.

Saving time, and lives, by helicopter. (Photo: Globus)

Franz Disse, Kassel's fire brigade chief, pioneered this system in the mid-70s. Before he coordinated emergency services people in the city had to choose for themselves one of the eight organisations to notify.

The radio relay desk is also in touch with local hospitals and knows where beds are available.

So ambulances no longer rush from hospital to hospital in the quest for a bed for a car crash victim.

Progress, then, has been considerable, but there is room for improvement, it was clear at Kassel. By no means all the *Länder* have a radio relay system that runs as smoothly as Hesse's does.

Each *Land* has to deal with problems of its own. Most people know little or nothing about first aid to the injured, which can be a matter of life or death, a swift recovery or long-term damage.

Only Bavaria has so far made first aid a compulsory subject at school.

Then there is after-care. There are only 70 facilities to help victims' families. Say a foreigner has lost his nearest and dearest. Who is there to provide initial care or even essentials such as food and somewhere to stay?

Urban traffic congestion is growing so bad that ambulances are taking longer and longer to get through. Motoring organisations have long demanded more traffic signal coordination. It and other moves could help.

Peter Sefrin, a Heidelberg doctor who has been dubbed the Pope of emergency medicine, called for further improvements at the Kassel conference.

He would like to see doctors given better training in first aid, with special attention to treating patients in cramped or unhygienic conditions.

He is also strongly in favour of a dashboard SOS scheme run as a pilot project in Darmstadt by the Bonn Transport Ministry.

The Darmstadt experiment is based on the idea of emergency transmitters in all motor vehicles that operate automatically when the car crashes at 60km/h or more.

The device can also be operated manually from the driver's seat or from outside the vehicle.

It sends out an SOS call that ambulances can home in on or that can be pinpointed from the regional control panel. The main reason why this system has yet to be introduced all over the country is the organisation it necessitates.

So the Bonn Transport Ministry does not expect it to be introduced much before the turn of the century.

Anette Ulbrich and Thomas Kreutzmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 October 1981)

Belt up or pay up, motorists warned

Motorists who don't fasten their safety belts will soon be fined, Bonn Transport Minister Volker H... It will probably be a DM20 fine ... time they are caught unbelted.

They are already required by l... belt up, but the police have yet to ... offenders, although motor ins... sometimes penalise them.

Herr Hauff is to ask the Trans... Ministers of the *Länder* to back ... proposal when next they meet in ...burg, near Cologne, later this month.

They shelved the idea in Bremen ... June because they wanted to chat ... ternational statistics before reaching ... decision.

In the cities where most traffic ... dents occur in Germany, he will be ... to say, fewer than four motorists ... 10 belt up.

A while ago the Bonn Opposition ... spokesmen on transport, Chris... Democrat Dieter Schulte and the C... Dionys Jobst, opposed the idea of ... fine.

They said the deplorable failure of ... government to inform motorists was ... gely to blame for the undeniable dis... many motorists have of using their s... ty belts.

Safety belts were compulsory in ... vehicles, but there was little point ... having them if they were hardly used.

No decision will be taken at Duis... on whether or not to scrap the Fle... burg files on traffic offenders.

Herr Hauff has commissioned a re... on the deterrent effect of the ... marks system (18 points in two ... means an automatic driving ban), but ... findings are not due until the end of ... year.

Bonn had hoped the new regula... on roadworthiness tests of newly-lic... ed vehicles could be implemented ... the end of this year, but here too ... seems sure to be a slight delay.

The Bundesrat, or upper house of ... Bonn Bundestag, has not yet arran... date on which to debate the go... ment's proposals.

The amendment as envisaged w... provide for a new vehicle not havi... undergo a roadworthiness test until ... three years old.

For older vehicles the existing ... val, tests of private cars every other ... would continue to apply.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 October 1981)

...E ENVIRONMENT

Dry run for nuclear plant accident

...d Schmid, senior local go...ent officer of Lower Bavaria, ... 300 observers from other ... Germany and abroad to one of ... civil defence exercises ever ... the country.

... very sorry, he said, he was ... offer radiant weather. This was ...tunate choice of words given ... purpose of the exercise was to ... a disaster at a nuclear power ...

... had just looked out of the ... at Landshut fire brigade head... where the introductory briefing ...n, and seen that it was pouring ...

... Bavarian Interior Ministry had ...ly announced that its contin... planning for reactor emergencies ...hed the stage at which the pub... ...l be invited to see for itself what ...isaged.

... prompted not only other *Länder* ... delegations to Lower Bavaria; ci...nce experts also came from Aus... ...d Denmark to see what the Ger... ...d in mind.

... will certainly have returned ...onvinced that the Germans are, ...ng else, thorough in the prepara... ...hey make for exercises of this ...

...ll armada of coaches ran a shut... ...e between half a dozen observa... ...s without the slightest hold-up. ... officers had lectures delivered ...t by tape recorder, while clos... ...d TV relayed transmissions from ...trol panels, which were in a safe ...d out of bounds.

...snack provided in the lecture ...at the Isar nuclear power station, north of Munich, was served at just the right time.

The Isar power station, with its 900-megawatt boiling water reactor, was the scene of the presumed mishap. Kurt Steinrück, manager of the nuclear power station, said:

"We are merely assumed to be to blame for this civil defence exercise; we are in no way responsible for its success."

A main coolant pipe inside the reactor's safety container was assumed to have sprung a leak. It was a mishap similar to the one that occurred at Harrisburg, Pa.

At Three Mile Island the reactor core partly melted, but German reactor engineers feel this is practically out of the question and a merely hypothetical case.

The mishap was supposed to have happened at 5.15 am. It was to assume more serious proportions as the day went on.

The heat led to a dangerous accumulation of a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen, an explosion and a possible leak in the safety container.

Fissile products would then leak out and contaminate the neighbourhood. Power station engineers said this was virtually inconceivable.

It was assumed for the purpose of the exercise that this turn of events did not materialise, so several thousand local people did not need to take the potassium iodide tablets with which they had been issued.

In this, as in other respects, the exercise relied more on diagrams to indicate what was envisaged than on going through the motions in full scale.

The police, Red Cross aides and firemen evidently knew how to handle their protective clothing and measuring equipment, but no attempt was made to test the capacity of crucial decontamination stations.

There was no evacuation either. "We would have had to take out insurance cover for everyone involved," an official apologetically explained.

Bavaria's civil defence chief later explained that Easter excursions led to traffic jams with which the authorities managed to cope, implying that an evacuation could hardly be worse. It came as a surprise to be told by Herr Schmid that afternoon that everything had run splendidly and fine progress had been made in command work. But the distribution of iodine tablets had failed to get under way because the police had not been notified. An emergency medical post had been plied with too many injury victims too. This, it was said, had been due to interference by a TV outside broadcast team. Yet what would have happened if there had not just been 10 patients lined up by the TV people but several hundred patients in genuine need of first aid. This was a question no-one saw fit to ask, not even the doctor who bombarded the government officials on the rostrum with awkward queries.

Next time it might be for real. (Photo: dpa)

He complained that throughout the exercise he had been unable to find the official in charge of his first aid post. He would have liked to ask him what level contamination had reached.

Besides, what was he to do with all the naked people in his post? For decontamination people must strip to the buff and surrender their clothes, which are taken into custody. But no-one had thought to provide replacement clothing.

Oberbürgermeister Josef Deimer of Landshut is one of the few members of Bavaria's ruling CSU to oppose nuclear power. He had voiced misgivings about the exercise beforehand.

What, he asked, was to be done with the thousands of contamination victims who could not be decontaminated by merely taking a shower?

In Schweinfurt, further north in Bavaria, the authorities planned to refuse contamination victims admission to the municipal hospitals.

Administrative lawyers are to check whether they are entitled to do so. In Landshut's case the problem was sidestepped for the purposes of the exercise.

There was said to be no risk whatever to the 55,000 people of the town. The nuclear power station eight miles away would not emit radiation that could reach the town centre.

Herr Deimel said that in that case the entire exercise was eyewash and a waste of time.

An observer from the Rhineland-Palatinate felt uneasy at the thought of how many people would be affected in a more densely populated area.

"If you work on the assumption that nothing untoward must happen," he reasoned, "you might as well not bother with exercises of this kind at all."

Gustav Obermair, a Regensburg physicist, doubted whether an emergency could be handled in the way it had been stage-managed at the Isar power station.

Professor Obermair said it would be better to send in a mixed team of reactor staff and qualified representatives of anti-nuclear protest groups to man the control panel.

According to the German risk survey for nuclear power stations accidents are not entirely ruled out that might result in up to 100,000 fatalities, although they are by no means assumed to be probable.

Reactor incidents come under two headings. One is disturbances,' meaning breakdowns that can be brought under control relatively fast.

The other is accidents leading to a leak of fissile material.

Planning procedures for German nuclear power stations include safety regulations based on the most serious disturbance that is felt to be at all possible.

No consideration is given to the risk of an accident of more serious proportions. That would be a case for civil defence measures.

It is also why Herr Schmid outlined two aims the authorities must bear in mind as he brought the exercise to a close.

The public must be briefed more effectively on the benefit to be derived and the negligible risk entailed by atomic enenergy.

As for an emergency, all he could say was that practice made perfect and exercises of this kind were indispensable.

Peter Schmitt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 October 1981)

...Bid to dump ...cid thwarted

...enpeace has prevented a bid to ...mp acid effluent into the North ... miles north-west of Heligoland.

... members of the organisation ... a human chain, wearing diving ... front of the bilges of the *Kro*... waste disposal vessel, and forced ...turn to port with half its cargo ...board.

...d Renker, spokesman for the en...ental protection organisation, de... what went on in Force Six ...

... the master of the *Kronos* sailed ... the human chain. Then, when ...med, he called a halt to the bid. ... third move he said he was swit... off the pumps and sailing back to ...ham.

...e course of the manoeuvre two ...ace volunteers are said to have ...nto the effluent stream. One had ...ns on his eyes, nose and mouth.

... Greenpeace move continues a ...gn against the contamination of ...rth Sea with acid effluent that is ...oduct of titanium dioxide manu...

...nium dioxide forms the basic in... ...t of optical whiteners used in ... detergents and dyestuffs.

(...rische Allgemeine, 28 October 1981)



Greenpeace hunts its prey in the North Sea. (Photo: dpa)

■ **LITERATURE**

Prize-winner Peter Weiss unravels his ambivalent political strings

Playwright Peter Weiss, who lives in Stockholm, has been awarded the literary prize of the city of Cologne.

The writer of *Marat/Sade* is a problematic author; he himself admits to being a contradiction. It is to Cologne's credit to have honoured him.

He once called himself a partisan in capitalist society and had great hopes of developments in the GDR, but East Germany failed to live up to his expectations.

His clear commitment to communism dates back to the days of the Vietnam war, the period leading up to the 1968 student uprising.

For the class of '68 his *Vietnam Discourse*, an agitprop play, exercised an intergrative function. But he was soon to draw distinctions between himself and the student generation of the late 60s.

In 1971 he wrote, in one of his *Notebooks*, published earlier this year, that: "The radical artist can at least still do business with the bourgeoisie, and the richer the bourgeoisie, the more business.

"With the socialists he can do nothing if his artistic views do not happen to conform to theirs."

His play *Trotsky in Exile* was treated with contempt by the cultural authorities in the East and Weiss himself was snubbed, being turned back at the GDR border as an unwelcome visitor.

The exodus of East Bloc and East German writers to the West likewise made him take a more level-headed view of socialism in practice.

In principle he still sets great store by the idea of socialism, as is seen from his trilogy of novels, completed this year under the heading *The Aesthetics of Resistance*.

In it Weiss, the son of middle-class parents from what is now Neubabelsberg, near Potsdam, in the GDR, but was then a fashionable residential suburb of Berlin, gives himself a fictional biography.

He dons the mantle of a proletarian who first fights on the Republican side in the Spanish civil war, then joins Communist resistance groups in Sweden to fight the Nazi regime in Germany.

He does so in a novel that runs to nearly 1,000 pages. Weiss spent 10 years writing it and put enormous effort into it. It makes strenuous demands on the reader too.

It is not only an attempt to come to terms with history but also an act of metamorphosis.

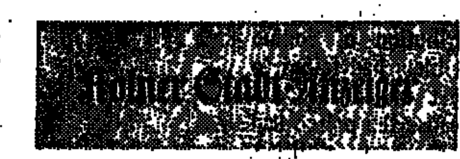
Only now, at 65 (his birthday is on 8 November), does he seem to have overcome the difficulties that prompted him to write his 1961 book *Abschied von den Eltern* (Taking Leave of One's Parents).

In it he described with psychological insight and linguistic precision the situation of a sensitive teenager growing up in a bourgeois family in the 20s.

Pressure to conform led to alienation. The first-person author called on literature and art to redress the balance.

Peter Weiss has been known to the literary scene for only 20 years, but it took him 40 years of reading, art studies, painting and writing to arrive at what was to be his calling, literature.

His early work is that of a man in his prime who sensitively analyses the pri-



vate ramifications of his beginnings, as can be seen from the paintings he painted until the early 60s.

Whether they were rigid landscapes or complicated technical constructions they invariably testified to extreme loneliness and encapsulation in a world of his own.

For the early Weiss Kafka, surrealism, Dada and expressionism were clearly more important than reality.

Yet the real world influenced him more than it did many of his generation. His father was a Jew so the family emigrated, which is why he has lived in Sweden since 1939, when he was 24.

By virtue of his parents' flight from pre-war Germany Weiss managed to escape what would almost certainly have been death in a concentration camp.

This is one of the traumas that eventually decided Weiss to commit himself, late in life but energetically, in politics.

In 1960 he noted in *Fluchtpunkt* (Vanishing Point), his second autobiographical book, how he felt about Auschwitz:

"I would have had to die, would have had to sacrifice myself, and even if I had not been caught and murdered or killed in action I should at least have had to bear my share of the guilt."

The scenic oratorio *Die Ermittlung* (The Investigation) was a bid to make amends, to expiate some of this guilt. It was based on the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial he had attended in 1964.

It recalled the mass murder organised by the SS at a time when the post-war *Wirtschaftswunder*, or 'economic miracle' of the booming late 50s and early 60s, had made Germans set aside any attempt to come to terms with their Nazi past.

It was a play with a message, and his first to be clearly modelled on Brecht, but theatrically it was not spectacular, unlike his *Marat/Sade*, which was premiered in Berlin 18 months earlier and hit the headlines overnight.

To this day *Marat/Sade* remains his best work for the stage. It is an imaginative and scenically gargantuan debate between two sides of Weiss's own personality.

One is Marat, the revolutionary. The other is the Marquis de Sade, an intellectual and hesitator. Their arguments maintain an evening's dramatic tension.

His novel. *The Aesthetics of Resistance* is not such a glaring attempt to instruct the reader as his plays, especially *The Vietnam Discourse* and *The Song of the Lusitanian Bogyman*.

In the latter Weiss drew attention back in 1967 to the Third World in the shape of the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

The effect of his novel can be attributed to a seemingly endless quantit[y of] authentic detail being incorporated [in a] powerful stream of consciousness.

Peter Weiss . . . not welcome in the G[DR] (Photo: A[...])

Alongside the novel his *Noteb[ooks] 1971-1980* are mere sketches in [the] shade of a monument, but they conf[irm] that at present nothing can reflect [or] make one aware of reality more ke[enly] than a fragment that notes observat[ions] or ideas in a few words.

This is certainly true of the words which Weiss hammers home to hi[s ...] the obligation on the dissatisfied m[...] do something about it in public:

"You have to come to terms in [pri]vate with boundless pain and the so[...] of intolerable suffering because you [...] duty bound to express your views on [...] facts and to come to terms with the[m in] a concrete fashion."

Rainer Hartman[n]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 October 19[81])

Caught between the millstones of history

Margarete Buber-Neumann turned 80 in Frankfurt, where she has lived for 30 years. She has made an international name for herself with books translated into many languages and with countless lectures on Germany.

Her books are a reminder for entire generations. In them she describes, without the slightest pathos, her own chequered career and eventful life story.

She came from a well-to-do, bourgeois family and grew up in the pro-Soviet euphoria of the 20s. She was then plunged into Heinz Neumann's work for the Communist International and into the hell of a labour camp in the steppes of Soviet Kazakhstan.

A victim of the pact between Stalin and Hitler, she was handed over, alongside other German Opposition members, by the NKVD to the SS.

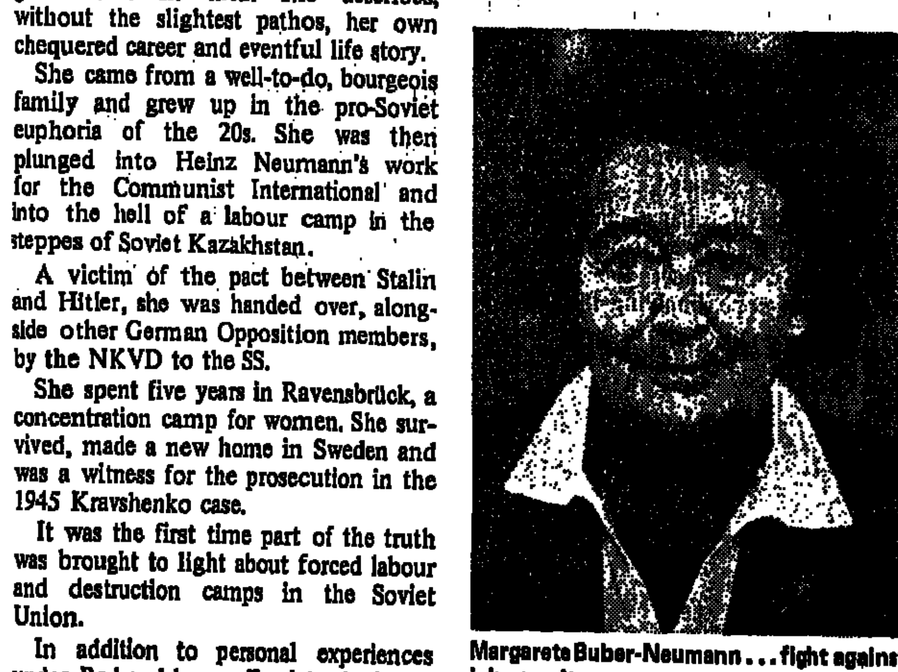
She spent five years in Ravensbrück, a concentration camp for women. She survived, made a new home in Sweden and was a witness for the prosecution in the 1945 Kravshenko case.

It was the first time part of the truth was brought to light about forced labour and destruction camps in the Soviet Union.

In addition to personal experiences under Red and brown Fascists she is the author of a book about *Kafka's Girlfriend Milena*, a Czech writer who died in Ravensbrück. It is a tribute of literary value.

With the precision of which only someone conversant with the background and with the motives of people she knew is capable, Frau Buber-Neumann describe the actors and the action of world revolution and its victims.

Millions died in cold terror and the



Margarete Buber-Neumann . . . fight against inhumanity. (Photo: dpa)

course of purges large and small, and she describes contemporary history as she experienced it and with a keen sense of commitment.

She takes us behind the scenes of Communist imperialism and sheds light on the gory practices that have been perfected in such a masterly fashion since Comintern days.

Sophisticated and supported by the Soviet satellite states, these practices are still in use in the world's hotspots.

In *Die erloschene Flamme* (T[he] Flame Put Out) she describe the fat[e of] people who, like herself, were caught [be]tween the millstones of history.

Their experiences are reflected in [her] answer to the question how one surv[ives] banishment, isolation, being handed o[ver] and deprivation of body and mind:

"The strength to survive is a matter [of] one's attitude towards life and one's fe[l]low-man. Is one constitutionally stro[ng] or weak in body and mind?

"The weak person will be on his o[wn] even in a crowd; the strong one has t[he] strength to suffer and to help hims[elf] and others.

"In this way he can reaffirm hims[elf] and the meaning of his life each a[nd] every day.

"A cheerful disposition and a go[od] memory can be a matter of life or de[ath] as can the ability to survive on a low [ca]lorie diet.

"One must also have political end[ur]ance and staying power, extending [if] need be to hatred of the oppressor."

Her last book, published in 1978, [was] entitled *Freedom, You Are Mine A[...]*. Its sub-title was *Strength to Surviv[e]*. [It] was her third volume of autobiograph[y].

In it she describes, after seven y[ears of] imprisonment, her experiences in p[ost-]war Germany, the mentality of a na[tion] on the run, a locality under Ameri[can] occupation and conditions in what [was] then the Soviet Zone.

An untiring critic of inhuman [re]gimes, she has always, both in her bo[oks] and, particularly, in her lectures and [ra]dio and TV interviews, voiced her vi[ews] on topical issues.

She has written the screenplay for t[...]

Continued on page 13

RITAGE

memo to mankind after Armageddon: this is how the Germans lived

[...] day shortly after the big bang, a [sp]acecraft will land somewhere be[...] the rubble heap that was once [...]gelts and the steaming, rapidly [...]ing Black Sea.

[...] extraterrestrial beings will alight [...] the craft and look around. One of [...] will exclaim in wonderment as he [...] to pick up a movie projector [...] with a reel of film.

[...] they switch on the projector, [...] will see a Mickey Mouse film on [...] screen. Thus goes the vision of [...] song writer Ludwig Hirsch.

[...] this is not how it will be. German [...] will survive, no matter how dev[...] the next war, and so will Ger[...] intellect.

[To] ensure this, some 100 civil ser[vants,] museum directors, lawyers, archi[...] art experts, photographers, officers [...] enlisted men are busying themselves [...] the limelight of the media.

[...] the past two years they have been [...] the products of German cul[ture,] both movable and immovable, sac[red and] secular.

[...] objects they are concerned with [...] timbered houses and city halls, [...] churches, monasteries, city walls, [...] museums and libraries.

[The]ir work is based on the 1954 [...] Convention for the Protection of [Cultur]al Objects in Case of Armed Con[flict.] The Bundestag adopted the con[ven]tion for Germany in 1967.

[It h]as since been signed by 70 coun[tries,] although not the United States. The [under]lying idea is that any damage to [the] cultural heritage, regardless of which [...], damages the cultural heritage of [man]kind as a whole.

[Th]e preliminary catalogue now con[tains] 15,000 objects, among them Co[logne] Cathedral and the city's Roman[-Ger]manic Museum along with its [...]zenich.

[Th]en there is the old town of Wetz[...] Arnsberg Monastery, the city fortifi[cati]ons of Ahrweiler, the Holsten Gate [in] Lübeck, the Festival House in Bay[reu]th and the village of Thannig near [Bad] Tölz.

[...]t is a prime example of a village [dat]ing back to the period between the [...] and the 19th centuries with its well [pre]served wooden farmhouses.

[E]ight thousand objects are shortly to [rece]ive a blue and white plaque (the co[lour]s of the UN) that is to protect them [fro]m damage, destruction, looting or [con]fiscation by enemy soldiers in case [of] war.

[I]n military manuals these objects fall [un]der the category of "to be protected if [pos]sible."

Though neither the shape nor the size [of] the plaque has yet been determined, [...] from municipalities are already [pour]ing in.

Hartmut Gassner, 50, who heads the [Cul]ture Department at the Bonn Interi[or] Ministry and acts as coordinator for [thi]s special civil defence effort, has a [rea]dy explanation for the interest in the [pla]que: tourism promotion.

Herr Gassner is delighted about this [un]intended side effect of his work.

To him this proves that the work that [go]es into protecting our cultural heritage [i]n times of peace is regarded as mea[nin]gful even in our nuclear age when a [si]ngle warhead would suffice to wipe a city like Cologne off the face of the earth.

Only Paul Wilhelm Kolb, the president of the Federal Civil Defence Authority, can really believe that it is not utopian to try to protect our cultural heritage against an atom bomb. "But," says Hartmut Gassner, "you simply mustn't think about the big bang."

The Bundeswehr acts accordingly. Said a Defence Ministry colonel when asked about the protection of cultural objects: "The idea is to stop soldiers shooting at churches or posting an artillery observer in a belfry."

But this is not enough. The military is expected to imbue its soldiers with an enemy image while at the same time instilling in them respect for the cultural legacy of all peoples of this world, as laid down in the Hague Convention. There is, however, no lack of effort in that direction.

The military manuals stress international laws governing war, and soldiers are informed on this aspect of warfare in the film "Pardon Will Be Granted After All."

An illustrated brochure depicts what a war will really be like. For instance, attackers and defenders are engaged in a running battle over a bridge while only 100 metres away another bridge that is part of the cultural legacy is being ignored.

The strategic map contains special annotations about cultural objects worthy of protection, reading: "St-Peter's, important church of late Rhineland Romanticism in Sinzig."

But there must not be too many of these objects, says Hartmut Gassner, because "soldiers must after all have enough room in which to wage war."

Austria is lucky in this respect. The Austrian forces have raised no objection to a catalogue containing 35,000 objects worthy of protection.

In this country, the cataloguing of protection-worthy objects is to be completed by 1984, when Article 21 of the convention will have been met and "all personnel involved in this special mission will be equipped with identifying armbands and special ID cards."

By then there will also be enough packaging material in store at the safe places that will house the movable cultural objects under protection to ensure that they can be safely removed once the all-clear has been given, says an information sheet of the Interior Ministry.

It will also be known which objects will enjoy that special protection that comes under the military category "must be protected, no matter what" and will form part of an international register.

This will include only very few objects of great importance and they will be far removed from any industry, railway stations, harbours, airports or radio stations.

One of these rare places is a mine shaft near Freiburg.

The former iron ore mine some 300 metres below the surface in solid granite already contains a huge quantity of cultural material, including 240 million photographs (35 mm) packed in 247 airtight steel cylinders and stored in two rooms, each with a floor area of 550 square metres, where they can survive for ever.

This is the result of 20 years of filming — another attempt to preserve German culture from destruction.

A document which Charlemagne issued for the Reichenau Monastery in 813 is on film, as is the Trier copy of the "Golden Bull" of 1356.

Vast numbers of medieval documents, manuscripts, official records on interest payments, taxes and levies and the complete minutes of the Cologne City Council sessions between 1396 and 1798 are also on record.

The archivists and photographers are now working their way towards the present by going through state archives and the Federal Archives in Koblenz.

Files of Hitler's Reich Chancellery and other Third Reich authorities, including the Propaganda Ministry, have already been photographed.

Next in line are Konrad Adenauer's works and documents.

Yet there is no end of this drive in sight. It has so far cost DM25m and continues to guzzle money at the rate of DM7m a year, funded in equal parts by Bonn and the *Länder*.

The photographing is now concentrated on items that a conference of education ministers has classified as "urgency rating one."

These include 30 per cent of official records dating back to before the year 1800 and 15 per cent of the newer ones.



Photographing documents for posterity. (Photos: Archiv (2), dpa, Holubovsky)

Urgency ratings two and three have not yet been defined. But there is no hurry since the processing of items with urgency rating one is expected to take until the year 2000.

Anybody wanting to make use of the archives now would find records of the German Foreign Office under Bismarck but no speech manuscript by Heinrich Böll.

The photographing must initially restrict itself to unique documents of German history that are kept in state archives. Other items cannot be taken into account now due to shortage of funds.

One of these recorded documents is a manuscript by Albertus Magnus which is now kept in the City of Cologne Archives.

The photographs are carefully checked for quality before being sent away for storage. The work is done by Maria Schade who, together with her team, has been on the job for the past 18 years.

The photographers produce a film of 2,000 shots every two days. And they have made 4,788 such films since 1963.

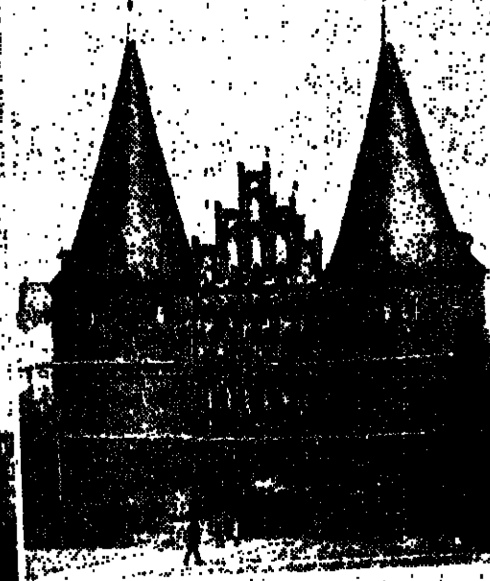
Says Frau Schade: "I've got a job for life here. And once I've finished, the next generation will take over."

She cannot help thinking back to 1975 when a new type of film that permitted many more shots hit the market. This was when the operation started anew and the old films were taken out of the mine and copied.

Hartmut Schergel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 October 1981)





Catalogued for the future. From left, the Festival House in Bayreuth; Cologne Cathedral; Holsten Gate, Lübeck.

■ MEDICINE

The missing element of treatment: it's called the human factor

The critically sick patient in the intensive care unit seemed unconscious; yet he heard every word the doctors around him spoke to each other.

He related everything to himself, understanding nothing, for he was afraid — afraid for his life.

He suffered because he had no idea what was wrong with him and there was nobody to take his hand and say a few soothing words.

These were the impressions of the head of an intensive care unit who did not realise until he himself became a patient that there was something amiss despite all technical perfection and physical care lavished on patients.

When his doctors realised that their patient could be talked to, the members of his own medical staff started giving long-winded explanations about his illness and the proposed therapy.

He told them that, his situation being what it was, he was not interested in technical details and that all he wanted to know was whether he would get well again or not.

It was with this description of his own experience that Dr J. Schara of Wuppertal opened the Central European Congress of Anaesthetists in Berlin. The theme of the congress was the psychological aspects of intensive care.

Of the hundreds of papers that were read on such subjects as anaesthesia, reanimation and intensive care, only seven dealt with the psychological situation of the patient who was supposed to benefit from all this medical technology.

It appears that most doctors are only marginally interested in the condition of the patient beyond the purely physical diagnosis. In fact, the subjective aspect of illness has been ignored too long.

British doctor Thomas McKeown has shown in his book *The Role of Medicine* that the effectiveness of purely medical therapeutic measures is largely overestimated. And this also applies to intensive care.

G. Pauser (Vienna) told the congress about the results of a study carried out at the Vienna Medical School's Intensive Care Hospital.

It transpired that one in two or three patients (depending on the period they were under observation) died during their hospital stay and that a further one-third of patients succumbed within a few years after discharge.

It also transpired that, at the time the survey was made, one in three patients still felt ill after leaving the intensive care ward.

Naturally, nobody can blame the intensive care wards for the fact that a great many patients die in them; after all, only those who are critically ill are admitted to such wards.

But it would seem reasonable to expect that specialists in intensive care should be equipped with knowledge that goes beyond pure physical medicine and that they should be capable of helping their patients overcome the shock caused by the illness and the frequently disastrous diagnosis.

More and more specialists now expect this of themselves and their nursing staff, and they suffer from their shortcomings in this respect, as was made amply clear at the Berlin congress.

H. J. Hannich and M. Wendt, both from Münster, gave a vivid description



of how constant proximity to suffering and death emotionally overtaxes doctors.

The training of both doctors and nursing staff is almost exclusively directed at physical phenomena, leaving them ill-equipped to cope with their own emotions and those of their patients.

The patients in intensive care wards find themselves in an environment they do not understand and they realise that they are entirely at the mercy of others. Many of them find it impossible to express their feelings.

The ward is almost constantly brightly lit and there is a continuous coming and going. Time and motion experts have figured out that something changes every 45 seconds in such a ward.

The inability to sleep leads to exhaustion, and the lack of a distinct day and night rhythm leads to disorientation.

Hallucinations are a frequent occurrence, as are other psychological disorders.

Patients react to being close to death either with undisguised fear or they try to hide this by regression to the point of autism.

The patient withdraws into a world of his own though his senses are alert and he is aware of what is going on around him, something doctors frequently fail to take into account, G. Maas told the congress.

Doctors and nursing staff frequently seal themselves off from the patient. After an initial overidentification with the critically ill person, they suddenly become aware of their own helplessness.

Their inability to communicate by word or by gesture eventually leads to guilt complexes. This, in turn, leads to a defensive reaction against constant emotional stress — something they never learned to cope with.

Dr Wendt spoke of a burn-out syndrome which boils down to ritualisation, routine and emotional neutrality in lieu of personal sympathy and care.

The doctor's interest concentrates only on the apparatus and overlooks the patient. The nurse handles the technical equipment to perfection without exchanging a single word with the patient.

And even if the patient tries to start a conversation, he is ignored or, if necessary, silenced by an injection.

It all amounts to an escape into hectic activity, and here the doctors are in a better position to retreat. The nursing staff frequently feel left in the lurch because they have to stay near the patient.

The intensive care team considers itself an elite fighting unit, said Dr Maas. It fights for the patient's life while leaving him as a person to fend for himself.

This applies particularly to the dying. Everybody avoids communicating with them while refusing to let them die in peace.

"We doctors are afraid to say that we've reached the end of the road and that we stand no further chance. Instead, we keep on and on trying," said Dr Wendt.

The realistic self-criticism of doctors that transpired at the congress remained unmitigated by the fact that survey show former patients to have a rather positive view of intensive care wards.

The shortcomings of these surveys lies in the fact that they deal only with things the former patients experienced while fully conscious and not with the things they have suppressed, Dr Maas said.

Those who survive try to forget what they experienced in that grey zone between life and death.

The participants in the congress later discussed suggestions for improvements. The conclusion was that improvements could only come with better training.

Doctors and nursing staff must learn to see their patients as a whole rather than only physiologically, Dr Schara suggested.

Before starting work in an intensive care ward, Dr Wendt said, doctors should be trained to deal with the emotions of their patients and talk to them.

Special attention must be paid to non-verbal communication, the importance of which is frequently overlooked, H. O. Rest (Dortmund) suggested.

Verbal information alone is only helpful if it has a positive effect on the patient. Gestures and facial expressions can be much more important than words.

But if doctors and other staff are to be able to lend emotional support they must find such support for themselves as well.

This can be achieved in disc[…] groups which can also make up […] some of the shortcomings of […] cal training.

The most effective psychological […] does not come from professional […]apists but from other patients and ab[…] all the next-of-kin, although they […] feel insecure in an intensive care wa[rd].

Surrounded by all that sophisti[cated] apparatus, many of them are afraid to touch the patient, Dr D. Lan[…] (Groningen) told the congress.

He called for more generous vis[iting] arrangements because the disadvant[ages] of visitors (like stress for the patie[nt], break in the routine and hygiene [con]siderations) have been vastly ove[resti]mated.

Visitors, he said, are frequently tu[rned] away as carriers of infection altho[ugh] the danger is negligible.

The Viennese Intensive Care Hosp[ital] makes a point of asking students [to] come and talk to patients — a me[…] that has proved beneficial since its [in]troduction five years ago.

P. Sporken (Maastricht) called for "[so]lidarity with our fellow-man in intens[ive] therapy where both the power and [the] impotence of medicine are most e[vi]dent."

Dr Maas stressed that illness depe[nds] not only on physical but also on ps[y]chological and social factors, and that [all] three should be taken into account in [the] intensive care ward.

Rosemarie Stein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeit[ung] für Deutschland, 24 October 19[81])

First, sever the leg: then follow the instructions carefully

Replacing severed fingers and limbs is the speciality of an emergency ward at Hanover medical school, says Professor Alfred Berger.

He and a seven-man team of surgeons run a round-the-clock service to sew back severed fingers, hands, noses, ears, forearms, feet and legs.

All he needs is for the patient and his severed limb to be rushed to the hospital within 10 hours of the mishap.

But the limb must be given the right treatment. After the accident it must on no account be cleansed, be brought into contact with liquid or refrigerated below four degrees centigrade.

The best method is to put the severed limb straight into a plastic bag and seal it, then to put the first plastic bag into a second bag cooled with ice cubes and water.

The limb can even be wrapped in a clean cloth or piece of paper and stored in the refrigerator, but not the freezer compartment, before being rushed to the clinic.

There is no immediate hurry. The limb need not be chilled until half an hour after the accident, by which time emergency medical attention will usually have arrived.

The victim must be given first aid and bleeding be brought to a halt.

Given the right prior treatment, Professor Berger says, 82 per cent of limbs replaced in his operating theatre will be accepted by the body.

dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 October 1981)

Germany tops cancer's death league

More people die of cancer per hea[d] of population in Germany (150,000 a year, and the number is increasing) than anywhere else in the world. The figure is taken from Egmont Koch's *Krebswelt — Krankheit als Industrieprodukt* (The World of Cancer — Illness as an Industrial Product), published by Kiepenheuer & Witsch of Cologne.

Koch says cancer is spreading because of industrialisation, bad eating habits, smoking and drinking.

America and Japan, both industrialised countries comparable with Germany, have fewer cancer deaths in comparison.

The German figure, again in per capita terms, is 20 per cent higher than in the United States and 30 per cent higher than in Japan.

Koch says this is partly due to cancer research in Germany concentrating on early diagnosis rather than on what causes the complaint.

He calls for compilation of detailed cancer statistics to enable research scientists to find out which kind of cancer is most prevalent where.

He is not the first to do so but legislation against data abuse presents difficulties.

He raps German industry for the devious means by which it has forestalled a ban on asbestos, which is known to be carcinogenic when inhaled.

The Environmental Protection Agency in West Berlin has advised the Bonn Interior Ministry to phase out asbestos and replace it with other substances by the end of this decade at the latest.

Cancer therapy, he says, must begin with a therapy of the environment.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 October 1981)

[ED]UCATION

Exactly what an international school does for little Johnny

[…] the third lesson of the day, […]. The teacher enters, goes to […]k and waits for the decibels […]ly a classful of schoolkids to sub[side].

[…], gimme a gum" an American […] urgently says to his Asian neighbour, shaking his shoulder to emphasise [the] point.

[In] front of the class one girl whispers [t]o another in German: "Have you [read th]is yet?" They are both engrossed [in a ma]gazine article.

[The] scene observed at an internatio[nal sc]hool in Germany could have been […]s anywhere and not just one at [an ex]clusive category of schools in Ber[lin, H]amburg, Düsseldorf, Percha near [Munic]h or Oberursel near Frankfurt.

[The] only difference is that pupils [are taught] in several languages. To an outsi[der t]he most striking characteristic of [interna]tional schools is the wide range [of…]s they encompass.

[The]y are like exotic atolls in the sea [of con]ventional German schools, bask[ing in] the myth of being cosmopolitan [and] the prestige of a comprehensive, in[ternati]onally acknowledged education.

[The]ir image is often lent an extra su[btle…] extravagance by a location at [the ed]ge of a park or woodland or even [a p]icturesque castle.

"[W]elcome to our school," writes [Jame]s M. Cantwell, head of the American International School in Düsseldorf, [in a] letter to the parents of new pu[pils].

"[W]e are proud of it and you will soon [see] for yourselves that it is a unique [educa]tional adventure for your children."

[Th]e unbroken euphoria of this claim [is t]ypical of the self-assurance interna[tion]al schools have retained, unlike con[ven]tional German schools, which are [[…]] by criticism.

[Ju]stified or not, this self-assurance is [hard]ly surprising. An island is always cut [off a]nd inaccessible.

[Le]ft to their own devices, internatio[nal] schools have no need to justify them[selv]es to outsiders. They must concen[trat]e first and foremost on their own in[tern]al and organisational problems.

[T]hese include the widely different [orig]ins of students and staff. More than [...] nationalities are represented at the [Fra]nkfurt school, for instance.

[S]tudents and staff also undergo fre[que]nt changes, necessitating special em[pha]sis on curricula, educational prin[cip]les and equality of opportunity.

A wide range of different educational [sys]tems, civilisations, languages and [val]ues need to be reconciled in tolerance.

[Th]e debate about educational aims and [wh]ether curricula are meaningful is di[smis]sed as of minor importance.

What, then, is so special about inter[na]tional schools? What distinguishes [th]em fundamentally from other schools, [be] they public or private?

Basically it is their international cha[rac]ter and all it entails. What it entails [var]ies from one international school to the next.

The five schools mentioned above [ha]d an existence independently of each [ot]her. Each is run along educational [li]nes of its own and has a distinctive in[di]vidual emphasis.

The John F. Kennedy School, Berlin, [is] an exception to the rule in that it was [se]t up by the West Berlin authorities as a token of cordial ties between the people of the divided city and the United States.

It thus forms part of the German educational system and is the only international school in Germany that iis not privately run.

As a rule its intake is restricted to German and US pupils. Lessons are given in both German and English. The curriculum is geared to requirements in both countries.

Pupils can chose between an American high school diploma and the *Abitur*, or German university entrance qualification.

At the other four international schools all lessons are in English. Curricula are geared mainly to US and British educational requirements.

Alongside British and US school certificates they also prepare pupils for the international baccalaureate. In Munich students are also offered the *Abitur* as an option.

For German pupils who live in the Federal Republic or West Berlin and plan to study at a German university these international qualifications have a drawback.

They do not entitle them to study in Germany, so in their final year at the latest they have to transfer from the international to a conventional senior school.

The Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Frankfurt, international schools still see themselves primarily as schools for the children of foreign diplomats and businessmen.

At present they have roughly 4,200 pupils between them. About one in three are Germans, usually from well-to-do families.

What motivates parents to send their children to such exclusive schools, apart, that is, from snobbery, which is by no means restricted to international schools?

They attach importance to schooling in another language. They feel the schooling given is of high quality. They welcome the respect for other civilisations that is taught.

These are all motives to be taken seriously. State schools are only too happy to borrow ideas from the international schools, where students undeniably derive enormous benefit from continuous contact with an alien language of instruction and a multinational community.

A number of state schools have launched senior streams in which lessons are given in two languages in a bid to emulate the international schools' success.

But this success, while undeniable in connection with language teaching, does not necessarily extend to other subjects.

Doubts have been voiced whether international school students' general knowledge is more extensive than that of their conventional counterparts.

Staff at international schools complain no less bitterly about lack of discipline and poor standards than do teachers at state schools.

Even Peter D. Gibbons, headmaster of the Frankfurt international school, does not feel his school-leavers are necessarily better qualified.

This is a sad conclusion for him to have to reach, given that conditions at his school are better than in most state schools, as is usually the case in private establishments.

There are seldom more than 20 pupils per class. There are no staff shortages, so lessons next to never fail to take place.

Students with difficulties in a subject are helped by special tutors. There are specially designed and equipped classrooms for chemistry,, physics, biology, art and music.

There are technical facilities, sports grounds, gymnasiums and equipment. There have to be, since parents pay high fees.

A place at the Hamburg, Munich, Düsseldorf or Frankfurt schools costs between DM5,000 and DM9,000 a year, depending on the pupil's age; plus entry fees of between DM800 and DM2,000.

Then there are charges for use of the school bus, for outings and for sports equipment, which can be startlingly expensive.

The only one of the five schools that charges no fees is the John F. Kennedy School in Berlin, the costs of which are met by the city and the US State Department.

Yet even though specialised knowledge as taught at international schools may not be better than the general run, the career prospects of international school-leavers are better, Mr. Gibbons says.

Careers in international management call for both know-how and the ability to get on with people from other countries.

Readiness to do so not only comes naturally at an international school; it is also the foremost objective of schooling in this category.

The regulations of the American International School of Düsseldorf, for instance, state that any kind of disrespect, insult or threat of violence to others runs counter to the spirit of the school. "We have much to learn from each other."

The Hamburg international school couches it in slightly different terms. The curriculum, it says, reflects the school's outlook.

It reflects the fact that each pupil has special talents, aims and feelings that are to be acknowledged and encouraged by means of teaching and the force of personal example.

This is why such importance is attached at international schools to extra-curricular activities such as cookery courses, dancing lessons, amateur theatricals, photography and sport, school teams, competitions, festivals and outings.

They are all intended to ensure that contacts between pupils extend beyond mere lessons.

The John F. Kennedy School even calls on students to invite fellow-students of other nationalities home, their families too, and to celebrate their respective holidays with each other.

Cooperation with parents is extremely important if the schools are to run smoothly, and fee-paying parents are keener to have a say in how their children's schooling is run.

At schools of this kind, which are independent in their choice of educational principles, run their own administration and are small enough to be surveyed at a glance, they can do so.

At all five international schools elected parents' representatives work alongside staff and heads in drafting educational principles.

They may not be able to exert much influence on currucula, but they can either decide matters of principle or ensure that principles are adhered to in practice.

Links between school, students, parents and teachers are strongly reinforced by this arrangement.

Many German parents see international schools as an ideal, but the main reason why they prefer not to send their children to them is the cost of fees.

This point is borne out by the overwhelming demand for places at the Berlin school, which is non fee-paying. Interest is so keen that applications are decided by casting lots.

Other reasons that may deter German parents are their children's poor educational performance ("Will he, or she, be able to keep up?").

Then there is the school's geographical location. None are boarding schools so they can only cater for pupils who live near the five cities.

Last not least, the North Rhine-Westphalian education authorities in Düsseldorf insist that German children attend German schools (but exemptions can be granted on application).

Does that make international schools as good as they are reputed to be or doesn't it? If their educational achievements are no better than those of state schools (except in modern languages), a certain cosmopolitan quality is the only advantage they enjoy.

It is up to state schools, parents, teachers and pupils to make good this backlog in linguistic prowess and tolerance.

They have no choice but to make the attempt, since international schools seem sure to continue leading a separate and distinctive life of their own.

Sabine Kinner

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 24 October 1981)

Millstones of history

Continued from page 10

films, one of which, screened by ZDF, the second channel of German TV, featured episodes from her *A Prisoner Under Stalin and Hitler*.

The other told the tale of Max Hölz, an anarcho-communist who terrorised the Vogtland, an area now in the south-east corner of the GDR, back in the 20s.

Wherever she has been in Europe and overseas, Frau Buber-Neumann's experiences and views have been in demand. In the United States she is an honorary member of the Authors League of America.

Earlier this year she was awarded the Grand Cross of the Federal Order of Merit by Hesse Premier Holger Börner, a fitting tribute to her career as a political writer.

Her fight against inhumanity and unfreedom and her literary testimony have rightly earned international acclaim.

She has always readily placed her understanding and will power at the disposal of organisations and efforts to ensure the past is not forgotten and the future is assured for the freedom of mankind and democracy.

Paul Rütti

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 October 1981)

■ SOCIETY

Amazing revelations about leisure activities

Everybody withdrew to their own rooms, closed the door and for an hour and a half did what they wanted.

One daughter wanted to listen to music while the other wanted to watch television and my wife felt like reading.

I decided to take a nap. It was wonderful and the atmosphere later was terrific.

This is how Dr Hermann Feldgen, a leisure expert, summed up an extremely pleasant Sunday afternoon.

There are, of course, those who will say: "So what? What's so special about it?"

There was none of the family dispute that has become customary on Sundays. Nobody got on anybody's nerves, everybody could do as they pleased. In short, it was leisure as it should be.

For Dr Feldgen and his family that Sunday was no coincidence but the result of new research findings.

Dr Feldgen is in charge of a long-term study carried out by the BAT Leisure Research Institute that was founded in Hamburg in 1979.

Most people still find it hard to cope with their leisure time. Yet they are reluctant to admit that they have problems and that it is the family that is at the root of most conflicts.

"My husband first watched a soccer game on television; and then when I wanted to chat to him he told me that he had to work. So he had no time for me at all . ."

Or, another example: "I finally wanted to read the book I'd been given for my birthday. But my wife and the children wanted us to do something else."

This is how many families sum up their weekends.

Modern small families have a particularly tough time. Though they long for human warmth, they also want to get away from the spouse and the children.

Another type of family loneliness is caused by television. The family is together and yet it is together because it does nothing as a family project.

This shows how the inability to use leisure time meaningfully is compensated for by TV, so much so that withdrawal symptoms set in when the television set breaks down.

"This type of research into motivation is still in its infancy. What we want is not to provide patent recipes but to show where the difficulties lie and make suggestions on solving them," says Dr Feldgen.

Leisure is synonymous with free time But exactly this is what most people don't have. They keep complaining about all sorts of work that must be done, such as shopping or looking after the house, subjecting themselves to an activity ritual even in their free time.

In doing so they sacrifice the time that should be available to them to satisfy personal needs without feelings of guilt towards the family.

The necessity to suit everybody frequently ends in frustration, aggression, dissatisfaction and stress. And yet everybody pins such great expectations on his free time. Friday is regarded as the best day of the week in anticipation of the weekend.

The desire for personal leisure is becoming increasingly important although contacts with other people are also high on the priority list.

The BAT research work expects that such personal wishes will receive more attention in the future. There will be more unplanned activities, active recreation and sociability; more creative work and excursions.

Dr Feldgen considers just doing nothing an important element of leisuretime. "We must acquire the courage to be idle and learn what is means to have time on your hands and to enjoy ourselves, to do nothing without getting bored in the process." *Edelgard Simon*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 24 October 1981)

Neuroses affect one in eight of the young

One in eight German children suffers from severe psychological disorders, says the head of the child psychiatry clinic of Marburg University, Professor Helmut Remschmidt. But only a third of them receives treatment.

Recovery prospects for children with neurotic disorders are extremely good. Given treatment in good time, the success quota is between 60 and 70 per cent.

"In good time" means that a child must be taken to a psychiatrist within six months of the time the first symptoms are detected.

The most frequent problems with children are phobias, inability to concentrate, poor performance, depression, attempted suicide, uncoordinated movements and the consequences of brain damage before or during birth.

Psychological disorders most often occur at the beginning of schooling when "the umbilical cord is cut," at the transition to vocational training and shortly before puberty.

Many disorders also begin in very early childhood when they occur in the form of a "silent phase", remaining latent until the child grows older.

The causes of the disorders that manifest themselves in aggressiveness, withdrawal, sadness and great unrest are manifold. They are frequently due to overtaxing at school and family disputes.

This is particularly pronounced in children with a genetic predisposition to such disorders.

In many cases, mothers aggravate the problems by their attitudes. This is particularly so in the case of eating problems where the success rate is 90 per cent.

Therapists have for some time been making a point of treating not only the child but the whole family.

This home treatment method, which was first introduced in the United States, is rapidly gaining in importance, but cost considerations preclude its becoming institutionalised — at least in the near future. *dpa*

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung 25 October 1981)

Music teaches children how to read

Dortmund teacher Lisa Wittmann uses music to teach her class how to read and write. The results are startling. The children learn well, and there are no spelling problems.

The cassette recorder blares a long-drawn-out, ululating "uuuh." The first graders listen raptly. What they hear is the singing of South American Indians.

Then they begin to move rhythmically to the music, inventing their own dance and copying each other. As they dance, the recorder goes on ululating.

Former pianist Frau Wittmann sees it this way: "Song and dance are a sensual unity. The children remember the whole and the letter "U" acquires a concrete meaning.

After the dance, the children paint Indian comics complete with bubbles in which they have written the letter they just learned. This way, the remember the letter through the senses.

The same procedure is used for every letter of the alphabet. The letter "M" is followed up with a specially prepared meal because when something tastes good, the children say "mmmm". And, of course, there is also a song to be danced to to go with it.

This teaching method was actually developed by the Bremen university teacher Iris Mann who sums up her theory as follows: "First graders find it hard to sit still and keep quiet. They want to make friends."

For Frau Mann, learning means absorbing the environment — literally.

A mentally retarded boy who had spent two years in one class without learning anything was given the letters of the alphabet in the form of gingerbread "to taste." This is how he finally learned to read.

The same applies to kneading letters into their correct shapes which establishes a sensual rapport with the alphabet.

Music has proved particularly beneficial because it not only enables the children to work off their kinetic energy but also provides a sound link between emotion and intellect.

Once the children have made a letter their "possession" they go a step further and form words, like "Umi." Umi is a bear, and all children bring their teddy-bears or dolls to school to dance with them.

Says Frau Wittmann: "Even a severely disabled child in my class danced and jumped around full of joy."

There is also the fact that the children can endow something they love with a name.

It takes only a few months before the first graders begin to put letters together and form words and sentences that interest them.

What pleases Lisa Wittmann most, however, is that all her children have mastered the art of reading and writing.

She has meanwhile written a book on this new teaching method entitled Learning to Read without Fear.

Horst Speichert

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 October 1981)

A wife's right to recline or to decline

A committee for women's equality ... trying to establish the exten[t to] which German wives are forced by ... husbands to have sex against their ... be it by violence or threats.

"We have had a number of di[scus]sions with women's action gr[oups,] judges and divorce lawyers in an e[ffort] to find ways and means to improve ... legal protection of wives against rap[e in] marriage," says Eva Rühmkorf, ... chairperson of the committee.

Hamburg intends to approach ... Bundesrat in an effort to bring a[bout] protective legislation.

Under today's criminal law, rape [is a] severe crime, except when the victim ... the rapist's own wife.

This is due to the old understand[ing] of marriage in which conjugal life ... the fulfilment of material duties are ... ligations. As a result, a husband w[ho] forces his wife to have intercourse w[ith] him only takes what is his due anyway.

In today's understanding of marria[ge] the woman does not forfeit the right ... her body. Marriage no longer means t[hat] the woman must be sexually available ... all times.

In some countries, like Denma[rk,] Sweden and the Soviet Union, rape ... the spouse is already prosecuted like ... other rape.

In the Federal Republic of Germa[ny] the courts have until recently not e[ven] protected those wives who were se[pa]rated pending divorce.

Says Frau Rühmkorf: "Under today's law, a woman can only press charges ... bodily injury or coercion. But mo[st] women are unaware even of these pro[vi]sions." And even women who are famil[iar] with the law are in for a surprise wh[en] they try to report such a case to th[e] police. Very frequently the officers re[fuse] even to accept the complaint.

As far back as 1972, the Bundestag ... tried to legislate for marital rape ... Though at the time the MPs arrived at the conclusion that "the right to sexual self-determination does not end with marriage," they did not see their way to drafting legislation that would make violators subject to imprisonment.

The legislators argued that it was impossible to establish marital rape because the victim was the only witness. But then the same applies to rape outside marriage, and this is one of the reasons why only 15 per cent of such rapes actually lead to a conviction.

Another argument put forward by the legislators was that if a court has to deal with the behaviour of one spouse on charges by the other, there is hardly a chance of salvaging the marriage.

Eva Rühmkorf is aware of this, and stresses that the protection of the marriage must play a fundamental role in pushing for legislation against marital rape.

Heidelberg public prosecutor Dierk Helmken, the author of a study on rape in marriage, argues that marriage becomes more endangered when sex is by coercion.

In his view, the court — having tried a marital rape case in camera — can waive punished if it holds that this will protect the marriage.

The Hamburg committee also wants to deal with such male threats as: "No sex — no housekeeping money."

Horst Zimmermann

(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 October 1981)

[SP]ORT

Unfit footballers: clubs accused of causing permanent injuries

... officials have been accused of ... permanent injuries to players ... them to play when they are ...

... joints are not given enough ... repair themselves and the cumu... effect of such injuries as bruises, ... and sprains on top of one ano... irreparable damage.

... accusations come from two sports ... Willi Pfeifer, of the Kaiserslau... ... and Hans-Wilhelm Müller-... ... of Bayern Munich.

... took a survey of the 18 clubs in ... Bundesliga first division and found ...

... ' orders are often disregarded ... coaches insist that it is they ... decides whether whether a player is ...

... physiotherapists make diagnoses and ... tablets, instead of a doctor ... consequence, many unfit players ... sent to play.

... upshot is that many club doctors ... simply given up.

... have been some alarming news ... for this season.

... national star Karl Allgöwer, 24, ... plays for VfB Stuttgart, has for ... been troubled by a sprained ankle ... and a groin injury.

... he still has to play every Saturday ... Stuttgart's manager Jürgen Sun... insists.

... training sessions a physiothera... ... another Bundesliga club gives healthy players an injection. They are given a shot of a rheumatism drug because it boosts the circulation.

Hannes Bongartz, 30, of Kaiserslautern, had his leg set in plaster. Coach Feldkamp felt plaster was unnecessary and had it removed.

As a result it took Bongartz not 10 days to recover, as had been hoped, but six weeks.

These stories are not in themselves unusual, and the feud between coaches and doctors has been waged behind the scenes for years.

Why coaches and doctors are at loggerheads is self-evident. Team managers are under heavy pressure to field a winning team and would prefer to play the best side every time.

They grow impatient when one or more regular members of the squad are not available.

What they want is an on-the-spot cure, a jab that does the trick. But there is no such thing.

Says Dr Pfeifer: "I remember our trainer, Herr Feldkamp, once saying: 'The opposition are more afraid of even an injured Peter Briegel than of a healthy subsitute for him.'"

Allgöwer of Stuttgart recently complainded of unbearable pain, but physio Caneri merely ran a hand over his leg and decided he was fit.

When Dr Hess of the Deutscher Fussball-Bund recommended sidelining Allgöwer for a while the clubs coach, Herr Sundermann, was mot indignant:

"DFB doctors merely make players feel insecure with their exaggerated diagnoses."

But the injury has made Allgöwer's working week look as follows: the game on Saturday, then rest for his legs from Sunday to Wednesday, light training on Thursday and Friday, followed by a pain-racked game the following Saturday.

Says Dr Müller-Wohlfahrt: "It is always one injury on top of another, such as bruises, strains and sprains, that cause irreparable damage.

"The X-ray of a 30-year-old soccer player's knee often looks like that of a man of 70."

When injured joints are not given enough time to recuperate, their surfaces (the gristle, as it were) are ground smooth down to the bone.

This is a gradual process, and pain only sets in, making the decay unmistakable, when it is too late.

Why do players not object to being declared fit too soon after injuries? Why, for that matter, do they even say nothing about them?

Most have contracts including yearly bonuses that are only paid if they have made a specified number of appearances.

"That," says Dr Pfeifer, "is why the many minor injuries are given no attention. They are made out to be mere scratches and bruises. Players who don't train or play are soon made out to be shirkers."

Cologne's Gerd Strack is the latest example of an over-eager player. Early in the week he suffered from blood poisoning but was determined to turn out against Leverkusen at the weekend. It was the money.

Why don't doctors do something? Now, all they can do is look after the playing staff to the best of their ability in the circumstances or resign.

"When the coach is having a successful run his word is law," says Dr Pfeifer.

After SV Hamburg won the championship last year coach Branko Zebec had club doctor Ulrich Mann sacked. Dr Mann had told goalie Rudi Kargus on no account to play because of a knee injury.

Most Hamburg players still use Dr Mann's services. Zebec has himself long been sacked.

Dr Pfeifer sounds a clear warning. "When injuries are not treated long enough or given enough time to be cured, X-ray exposures often show after only four or five years that knee and ankle, hip and spinal column have undergone alarming changes."

This industrial injury, as Dr Müller-Wohlfahrt calls it, is not even covered by insurance. Soccer players are only indemnified if they are invalided as a result of injuries.

"The ideal would be for clubs to hire full-time doctors to look after their playing staff," says Dr Pfeifer.

Former national team manager Helmut Schön's comment is still valid: "Racehorses," he said, "are better looked after in Germany than soccer pros."

Wolfgang Golz

(Welt am Sonntag, 25 October 1981)

Rhythmic gymnastic titles lose some of their rhythm

... technical hitches bedevilled the Mu... world championships in ... rhythmic gymnastics; one certainly ... Germany's Carmen Rischer and ... hopes of breaking the Bulgarian monopoly.

... Huschke of the GDR was to ... been accompanied by a tape recor... ... a pianist, but unfortunately the ... after announcing her name, just ... like an engaged signal on the ... Most embarrassing.

... Luiza Campos dos Santos of ... had trouble with a ribbon. She ... waved her streamer when it ... mid-air, leaving her holding just ... She too gave up.

... other girl got into trouble when ... ribbon tied itself into knots, but she ... the presence of mind to unravel it ... on with her routine.

... Rischer's trouble was with ... hoop. In the middle of her routine ... rolled off the mat and disappeared ... a beer advertising strip.

... badly shaken, she rushed off to re... ... while pianist Eugen Filipescu ... tinkled away at the ivories to ... time.

... much for her hopes of ending her ... national career with a world title. In ... events she made other mistakes, ... failed even to win a medal.

... Rischer, 24, from Wattenscheid ... Ruhr, came sixth in the com... event, last in the rope, hoop and ... and fifth in the ribbon.

... apart from her only Regina ... also from Wattenscheid, and ... Bobo of Spain got as far as the ... which were otherwise monopolised ... Bloc competitors.

... Weber came eighth in the ribbon and Miss Bobo equal seventh with Miss Rischer in the clubs.

Of the 15 medals for which they all competed, a trio of Bulgarian girls bagged 13.

Anelia Ralenkova, 17, whose first world championships they were, won gold in the combined event and in the clubs.

Lilia Ignatova won the individual world championships in the rope and hoop. Illiana Rayeva was runner-up three times, came third in her fourth event and fourth in her fifth.

They all come from Sofia. Irina Devina from Russia won the gold in the individual ribbon event, but the Bulgarian girls won the team event.

The West German girls came fifth, which was a creditable performance for a team that has only existed for a few months.

They owed their success mainly to the unusual composition of their routine. "Two years ago," says chief coach Livia Medilanski, "we were on the lookout for a new approach to compete with the classical composition of the Russians, the expressive freestyle of the Bulgarians and the fast, experienced line of the Czechs."

She claims personal responsibility for the new ideas which for the first time ever entailed gymnasts touching each other in the team routine.

The composition was entirely her own, a brainchild of hers that was brought up by Mariana Christiansen, who trained the eight girls in the squad until they were in top form.

Frau Christiansen feels new ideas such as this are the only way in which her squad stand any chance of breaking the Bulgarian girls' international supremacy.

Like the Bulgarians, she has about 5,000 girls gymnasts to choose from, but that is where the similarity ends. The Bulgarians have more time and money and rhythmic gymnastics is vastly more popular there.

Bulgaria rates its girl gymnasts as highly as its weightlifters, athletes and skiers. Soccer alone can lay claim to a more widespread popularity.

Frau Medilanski, who comes from Rumania, is most dissatisfied with the conditions under which she has to operate as chief coach.

She is responsible to Gymnastics Association official Lilo Knecht, but the two have not been on speaking terms for months.

The bickering between them came to a head during the world championships when Frau Medilanski wanted to lodge a protest over the marks awarded Carmen Rischer in the hoop.

Lilo Knecht signed the protest, as the regulations required, but let the jury know that she did not agree with the protest at all. Neither did the jury, which was then hardly surprising.

"I felt the whole idea was a complete waste of time," she said afterwards, "but if I had refused to sign I would have been accused of leaving the coach and her girls in the lurch.

"The situation at the moment is that no matter what decision I take, it is invariably used against me."

Adjudicator Uli Hager of the Bavarian Gymnastics Association was suitably indignant, calling the whole affair a stab in the back by officialdom.

The Gymnastics Association will have to arrive at some solution or other of the clash between the two women. Frau Medilanski modestly claims to be an internationally respected personality who has not been granted appropriate recognition in Germany.

Now the world championships are over she is no longer prepared to go on working in the present atmosphere. The association will, she says, have to come to a decision.

It must decide whether to be guided by sporting principles or to continue as before and base team selection on satisfying the desire for prestige of the various regional associations.

She has been made an offer and given an air ticket at the world championships and is off to Canada to run a training camp.

"I hope that when I return in mid-November the Gymnastics Association and the sports authorities as a whole will have ensured conditions in which I can carry on with my work undisturbed."

Even before Frau Medilanski threatened to emigrate, Uli Hager was sick and tired of the entire squabble. In this he will not have been on his own.

Axel Hacke

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 October 1981)